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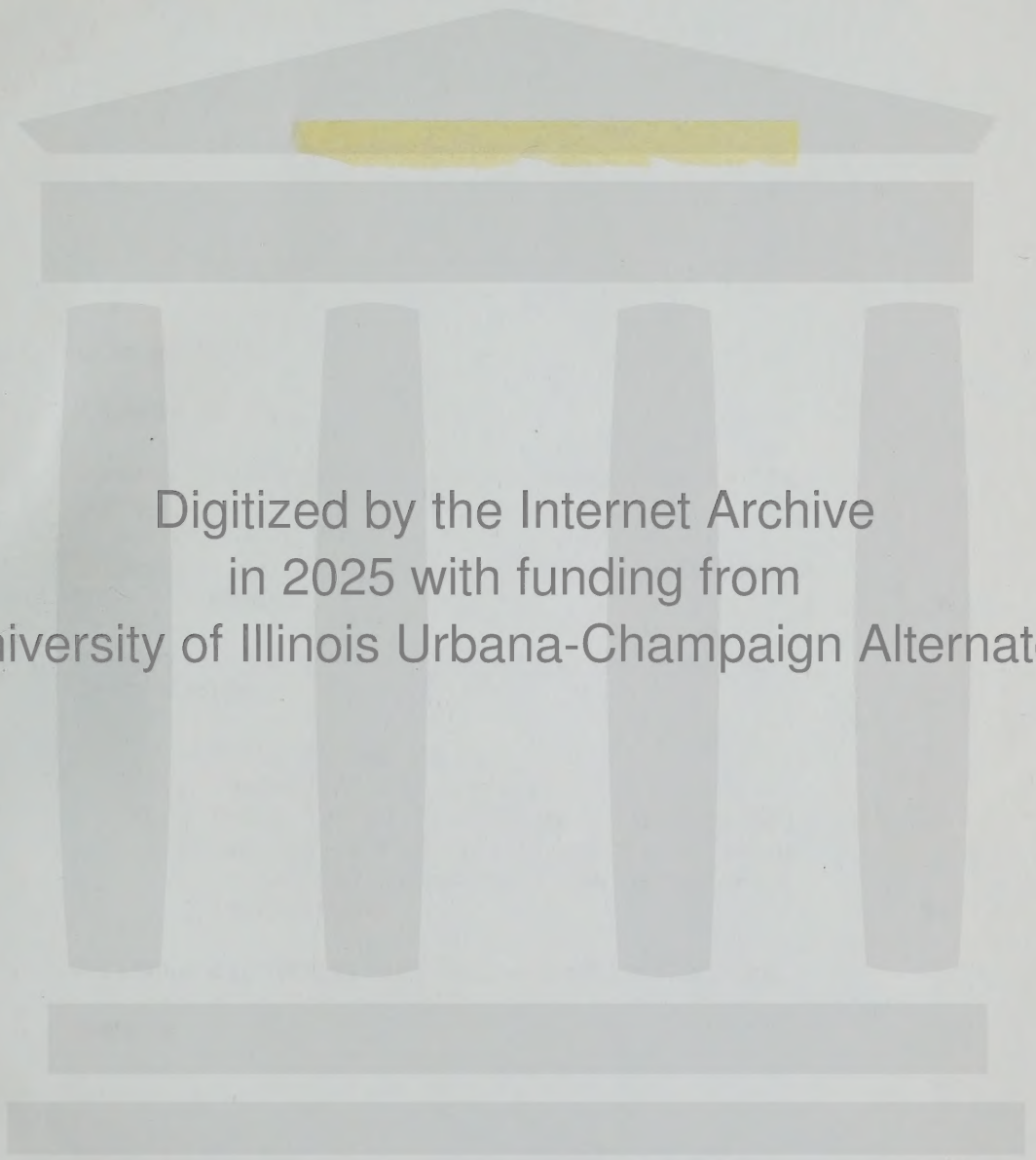
A SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE AND RESEARCH ON THE INTERGROUP ATTITUDES OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH.



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A SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE AND RESEARCH ON THE INTERGROUP ATTITUDES OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Ann G. Wolfe

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I. INTRODUCTION

In presenting this material the Division of Youth Services of the American Jewish Committee hopes to share with professional workers who serve young people some interesting facts and findings about the youth of our country.

This survey of the literature and research on the social attitudes of young people was undertaken in an effort to determine, in so far as the findings of the social scientists reveal, what the children and youth of America were thinking about, how they felt about social and civic concerns, and specifically what their attitudes were towards the significant problems of group relations.

Related to our general interest in the social attitudes of youth, is our desire to understand the phenomenon of youthful acts of violence directed against minority groups and individuals. What are the motives that lead young people into acts of vandalism against synagogues, churches, community centers? Are youthful gang fights which involve individuals of different ethnic, racial and religious origins the overt expression of hostility toward minority groups? Are there evidences of a correlation between the outbreaks of anti-minority violence and delinquency? And finally, are these anti-minority acts part of a larger pattern, are they organized, or are they a general expression of untreated youthful problems?

We believe that this review has given us added insights into the world of our young people. We hope it may serve to give us pause to take a searching look at their problems. The American Jewish Committee is using these findings to help in its own program of education for better human relations among young people. We hope that we may join with others in helping our youth grow into adulthood with security and with the skills of solving the problems that will face them.

To any who read this document: we would appreciate your comments and any ideas which the material may stimulate. If you find it of use in your own area of work, it would be encouraging to us to know how the material has been helpful.

II. METHODS WE USED

We surveyed the inventories published by governmental and private agencies in the field of intergroup relations. These suggested additional sources. The following is a list of the sources we used:

1) "Inventory of Research in Progress Relating to Children," for 1948, '49, '50 and '51. This is published by the Children's Bureau of the Federal Security Agency. It has now ceased publication.

2) "Inventory of Research in Racial and Cultural Relations," for 1948, '49, '50, '51, '52 and '53. This is published by the Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations of the University of Chicago and has taken over the functions of the American Council on Race Relations.

3) Material of the Social Science Research Council.

4) Surveys and polls.

5) Professional journals such as The American Sociological Review.

6) Books and pamphlets.

7) Magazine and newspaper articles.

8) Publications by youth-serving agencies and by organizations in intergroup relations.

9) Correspondence with individuals who are known to be active in this field.

In selecting our material we were aware of the tremendous age range covered by the term "children and youth." We attempted to find material that would be applicable to an understanding of early childhood, the school age youngster, the teen-ager, the young adult and college youth. The study material which we selected in each case had some generic implications. We eliminated studies which might at some time have some bearing on the over-all problem but which, in their present stage, were so limited in scope as to make it difficult to draw any conclusions of a larger nature. Many graduate students have done studies in small clubs or groups of youngsters which, when taken together, might formulate some concept of a particular age group, but at this point are not usable for such purposes. We attempted to limit our material to studies done within the last seven years, roughly, since the end of World War II. We are aware of the fact that this, too, makes it difficult to evaluate a current attitude, since the whole American scene has undergone great changes during these years. However, studies done within the last year or two are not yet available for publication and material from the longer period may have value in giving us direction.

Where summaries of studies indicated the material to be related to our interests, follow-up was done through correspondence with the researchers, with libraries, universities and other groups where the research was conducted. In several instances studies were secured through inter-library loan.

III. GENERAL OBSERVATION ON THE MATERIAL USED IN THE SURVEY

There are certain trends in the research literature which might be of interest to comment on. Looking at the material as a whole, one is impressed by the tremendous concentration which researchers are devoting to the study of the psychological elements of intergroup life and conflicts. There may be several reasons for this. The field of psychology and psychiatry has made great headways in all of the areas concerned with human relations and human welfare. It is to be expected, then, that psychology would have its impact in this field as well. One other reason might be considered, in the opinion of this writer. To some extent the study of psychological factors is a "safer" road. The research which has led to an understanding of some of the societal factors involved in social disintegration leaves the research worker frustrated, with a

feeling of great incompetence, since the changing of these social conditions involves forces outside his own ability to master.

Another trend which is becoming apparent is that of research which relates specifically to the attitudes of the majority group. Up until the recent past the greater concentration was upon the effects that prejudice has upon the minority member, or on the group suffering prejudice. There has been a shift in recent years to a realization that the effects of prejudice are equally serious on the group who perpetrates these acts. Lillian Smith was perhaps one of the earliest workers with children who commented on the serious effects prejudice was having on the white child in the South. In more recent years, at the White House Conference held in 1950, research workers on the fact-finding committees of the conference pointed out the need for further work to understand this phenomenon.

The material also shows a tremendous interest and great emphasis on the problems of juvenile delinquency, because workers with youth have traditionally considered the teen-age period a most decisive one. The activities of teen-age delinquents have offered opportunity for diverse kinds of study.

On the whole, one notices that there is a great deal of research material dealing with problems of early childhood. Many are efforts to gain greater insights into the psychological mechanisms at work in establishing attitudes and feelings. There is considerable research on the child in a family setting. As mentioned above, the dramatic changes which take place in adolescence have stimulated many studies. The emphasis and interest in problems of juvenile delinquency fall within this age range. In this particular field of study sociologists have exerted great influence and social factors are considered important in the analysis of delinquent behavior.

The greatest gaps in research appear to be in the age group of early school youngsters (roughly, 7 to 12 years of age) and among young adults (18 to 30). Among this latter group, however, there are a sizable number of studies and polls taken among college youth on their social and intergroup attitudes.

The research which we reviewed was conducted under the auspices of private organizations like the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, the Commission on Community Interrelations, the Bureau for Intercultural Education, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The greatest number of studies were under the auspices of universities and colleges. Some were done in departments of sociology of universities, or other divisions of schools of higher learning. Some were done in university settings, under grants by foundations. Many studies were done for Masters and Doctoral theses. One might hazard the guess that hundreds, if not thousands, of such unpublished material as appears in these theses, remain buried in university libraries and never get listed in inventories or noted in any of the literature.

A few of the studies were done under governmental auspices. However, we have found that research under such auspices was usually limited to fact-finding investigation of specific local conditions such as discrimination in employment, segregation in housing and so forth.

The processes used in the research relating to children and youth might be categorized as follows:

1) Psychological Orientation

The theory on which research is conducted is that prejudice in an individual meets a personality need. With such orientation the research worker assumes that neither formal education, per se, nor the change of conditions in which a person lives, will eliminate his prejudice.

2) Sociological Orientation

Those researchers who support this approach hold that prejudice is a cultural product developed in the child as he grows up. On this theory prejudice can be eliminated only by a change in the cultural patterns.

Viewed dynamically these sociological and psychological explanations for the causes of anti-minority attitudes, delinquency, and anti-minority violence, blend into each other and reenforce each other.

3) Economic Orientation

This approach is found largely in the research related to young adults and adults. Those who use this approach believe that economic needs and drives determine the person's interests and attitudes. The individual finds that he can improve his conditions if he adheres to existing patterns of discrimination. A person can be freed from prejudice, under this theory, only if he can be convinced that his condition is not improved by discriminatory acts. This approach is rarely used in the understanding of early childhood phenomena. However, it has some bearing on an understanding of the effect of family attitudes on the attitudes of the children.

IV. OPINION POLLS AND NEWSPAPER SURVEYS ON ATTITUDES

1) Fortune Magazine Survey by Elmo Roper.

The December, 1948 issue of Fortune magazine reports on a poll conducted by Elmo Roper entitled Youth Appraises Itself. In this poll young people's answers to moral and social questions show a slightly more conservative, ethical, tolerant and hopeful attitude than those of the middle years, with whom they are compared. When asked what they feared most, 37% of the young people said they feared both war and depression; 34% feared war

but not depression; 12% feared neither; 9% feared depression only; and 8% had no clear opinions.

In answer to the question, "If you had to give up one of these things, which one would you be most willing to give up?," 47% of the young people said they would be most willing to give up the right to earn more than $5,000 a year; 15% said they would be most willing to give up the right to change jobs; 6½% said they would be willing to give up the right to trial by jury; 5½% would be willing to give up the right to vote; only 1½% would be willing to give up freedom of speech; 18% had no opinions.

The young people surveyed seemed to take responsibilities pretty seriously. About 65% believed that steps should be taken to form a world government; only 17% think it should not be done; less than 10% believe that the United States should avoid war at all costs; 14% believe that the Soviet Union should be stopped by fighting before it gets any stronger; 74% think we have a good chance of avoiding war by keeping prepared.

In answer to the question, "Do you think steps should be taken right away to see to it that Negroes have the same chance to get good jobs as white people have, if they have the same qualifications; or do you think this should be done more slowly; or do you think this should not be done at all?," 47% believed that this should be done right away; 31% believed this should be done more slowly; 15% believed it should not be done at all; and 7% expressed no opinion. In other words, 78% of the young people take a positive attitude towards equality of opportunity in employment.

Mr. Roper wrote us in reply to our query that they have not made any more recent surveys among young people.

2) Time Magazine Report

The November 5, 1951 issue of Time magazine reports on a survey called The Younger Generation. Correspondents of the magazine across the country tried to find out what young people were thinking, what they read, what their ambitions were and what they believed about the period in which they were living. The survey states:

> "Youth today is waiting for the hand of fate to fall on its shoulders, meanwhile working fairly hard and saying almost nothing. The most startling fact about the younger generation is its silence. With some rare exceptions youth is nowhere near the rostrum. By comparison with the FLAMING YOUTH of their fathers and mothers, today's generation is a still, small flame. It does not issue manifestoes, make speeches, or carry posters. It has been called 'the silent generation.'"

On military preparedness and war the Time survey reports that hardly anyone wants to go into the army, that there is little enthusiasm for military life, and no enthusiasm for war. Young people admit freely that they will try to stay out of the draft as long as possible. However, there appears to be little systemized anti-war feeling, as existed in the United States during the late '20's and early '30's. Pacifism is almost non-existent.

In the survey the younger generation is described as conventional. Young people want good, secure jobs. They feel that anyone who wants to work can find a decent job. According to the survey, however, youth's ambitions have shrunk. Few youngsters have much daring or imagination to try new and unchartered courses. Some would like to own a small, independent business but most want a good job with an established firm.

Further in the report the survey states: "Intellectually today's young people already seem a bit stodgy. Their adventures of the mind are apt to be mild and safe, and their literature too often runs to querulous and self-protected introspection, or voices a pale, orthodox liberalism that seems more second-hand then second nature."

Educators, according to this survey, proclaim that the young people have no militant beliefs and do not speak out for anything. The only two issues about which they seem to feel deeply are world government and race relations. Many students and teachers blame this on "the fear of being tagged subversive." "Today's generation, either through fear, passivity or conviction, is ready to conform," says the survey.

3) American Friends Service Committee - Teen-Age Survey

Spahr Hull, Director of the High School Program of the Middle Atlantic Region of the Friends Service Committee, writes on the "Teen-Agers' World" in the July, 1953 Fellowship magazine. He states in part:

> "One cannot generalize about what high school age young people are thinking today. I am fairly certain that an article dealing with the attitudes of various groups of adults in America today would reflect also the attitudes of the young people of that group."

In a survey with youth correspondents around the country, he reports on the expressed attitudes of young people towards many social questions. He quotes a young man as follows:

> "A big, real smart friend of mine got to telling me how he feels: he can't see spending $4,000 plus for an education to go out and get shot. . . Another guy came up with this:

'The Bible predicts another great war; it's inevitable.' The guys don't know or care much about the cold war."

Mr. Hull states that of all of the attitudes held by high school age young people today as a result of the current world situation, the most significant is that another world war is inevitable. This affects attitudes in many other areas. There is confusion which grows out of a desire to find stability and order, to find something basic that will give meaning to their lives. "Within the last few months more teen-agers have become aware of the increasing blackout in other fields." He quotes a letter from a high school student on the West Coast indicating that the students are not permitted to have outsiders on any panel discussions; there is to be no more discussion of controversial issues in the high school. In conclusion Spahr Hull states: "High school age people do think. They are people like the rest of us, and respond to the stimuli of our times. As the 'restrictions are lowered' upon them, however, they will have less and less opportunity for free expression, and when free expression is impossible, independent thinking cannot thrive."

4) New York Herald Tribune High School Forum

The March 23, 1953 issue of the New York Herald Tribune reports on the Seventh Herald Tribune High School Forum which took place two days earlier. The theme of the Forum this year was The World We Want. About 500 American high school students and 30 delegates from 28 other countries participated in the discussions.

This group of young people expressed well thought out, highly articulate points of view on many social questions. The young people urged an end to racial, nationalistic and religious prejudices. The most urgent appeal, led by the foreign delegates, was for an end to the belief in the "inevitability of war."

5) New York Times College Survey

The May 10 and 11, 1953 issue of the New York Times on a survey conducted by this newspaper among 72 major colleges in the United States. This study on the freedom of thought and speech on college campuses was conducted by Kalman Siegel. The report states at the outset:

"A subtle, creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech is attacking college campuses in many parts of the country, limiting both students and faculty in the area traditionally reserved for the free exploration of knowledge and truth.

"These limitations on free inquiry take a variety of forms but their net effect is a widening tendency towards passive acceptance of the status quo, conformity, and a narrowing of the area of tolerance in which students, faculty and administrators feel free to speak, act and think independently."

The report states that students, leaders, teachers and administrators on campuses explain that this caution and inhibition and censorship largely took these forms: a) a reluctance to speak out on controversial issues in and out of class; b) a reluctance to handle currently unpopular concepts; c) an unwillingness to join students' political clubs; d) neglect of humanitarian causes because they may be suspect; e) an emphasis on lack of affiliation and attempt to disassociate oneself with the words "labor," "peace," "freedom," and from liberal companions.

It was pointed out that this wariness and apathy is partially a product of "the pressures generated by Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin" but also from the probable inevitability of the draft, the fear and uncertainty in national life "and a fatalistic and frustrated conviction that little can be done in the college area to alter international developments." Other factors mentioned by other college personnel was the fact that with an increasing understanding of the nature of Communism, "much of its former fascination has been lost." The study quotes and comments from individuals associated with many of the universities.

Dr. Alvin Eurich, President of the University of the State of New York, is quoted: "In recent months justifiable fear of Communism has set in motion unjustifiable behavior denying these very principles."

At the City College of New York student leaders were unwilling to speak out or to express any opinions that might be considered left-wing. One student editor at the college said that "agents of the FBI were constantly inquiring about students applying for government jobs and that some grade schools with government classified projects were extremely reluctant to accept students who had committed themselves to an unpopular point of view."

At Queens College a student editor declared that the students were "playing it safe."

At Hunter College student leaders said that students were fearful of signing petitions because they were reluctant to get their names on lists.

Dean Millicent C. McIntosh of Barnard College said that she found that "girls are becoming afraid to advocate the humanitarian point of view because it has been associated with Communism. The most fearless will not be influenced but the middle group is made to feel the confusion and fear involved in the 'obscurantism' that is McCarthyism."

At Columbia University Professor Robert S. Lynd said that students were cautious and apprehensive but that the reasons were difficult to identify.

At Vassar leaders of liberal clubs said that fear of the future kept the membership in liberal groups small.

At Yale University the students' newspaper editorialized as follows: "We cannot believe that the American people will indefinitely tolerate this control over youthful lives by looming up before them the specter of the 'loyalty check' ... and yet, despite hope, we see the sky growing darker, the night of thought conformity closing in. We see college men growing more and more docile, more and more accepting the status quo, paralyzed by the fear of their futures, radicalism snuffed out where it should flame the brightest."

At New York University some student leaders reported reluctance on the part of their classmates to express liberal viewpoints but stated that the school policy was one of student and faculty freedom.

At the University of Michigan Dean Erich A. Walter explained that students were more careful in their affiliations, "recognizing that Federal Security officers were making careful checks of the memberships of liberal organizations."

The same situation is repeated in other institutions: the University of Chicago, the University of North Carolina, the University of Wisconsin, the University of Oklahoma, the University of Nebraska, at Iowa State, Indiana University, Purdue University, Oberlin University, Kenyon University, Washington University. Similar evidence was reported at Ohio State, Bryn Mawr, the University of Colorado, Haverford and, to a lesser degree, at Princeton, Stanford and a few others.

In the New England area the privately endowed colleges, Williams, Bowdoin, Amherst, Smith and Wellesley, experienced a left-wing liberalism for some time previous to Senator McCarthy's drive. In this area Harvard showed the greatest effects. Spokesmen on this campus said that organizations still were willing to speak out but individuals tended to be more reticent.

An encouraging sign has been the expression on campuses such as the University of Chicago. The President of the Political Forum Organization on that campus stated that this group has expressed independent convictions without regard to fears of being smeared. At a number of other colleges it was reported that anger at restrictions had stimulated increased free expression.

In summary the report states:

> "Despite the hopeful signs of resistance, however, repressionism continues to make inroads not only on freedom of speech, thought and action on the college level, but at each echelon of the nation's educational structure. . .

"Many educational leaders also noted that if better schools built better citizens the struggle for freedom on the campus and in the classroom must be stepped up in this period of national mobilization."

6) National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago

This group reports that no poll results of theirs have detailed age breakdowns. The categories they use are very broad - "over 40 and under 40" - and are not usable for our purposes.

7) The American Institute of Public Opinion

We wrote to Dr. George Gallup, the Director of this survey organization located in Princeton, New Jersey. A reply from this organization indicates that the American Institute uses an adult cross-section in its regular surveys. However, they suggest that some information may be helpful from some of the surveys that sort out the group between 21 and 29 years of age.

We reviewed the surveys sent to us by the Gallup Poll organization, covering a period of about a year and a half. Of these, five have some material which might be of interest to us:

a) In answer to the question, "Should a couple of different religious faiths marry?," 54% of all people queried said they should; 35% said they should not; and 11% expressed no opinion. However, in the younger age group, a considerably higher percentage expressed favorable reaction to such marriages: 65% said they should; 25% said they should not; and 10% expressed no opinion.

b) In answer to the question on which profession the person would recommend to a young man, assuming he was qualified, leading the list of professions was medicine. Engineering came second. The poll points out that young people - those under 30 years of age - are considerably more enthusiastic about a career in medicine, engineering, dentistry, law or business, and less enthusiastic about the clergy or teaching as a profession than are older people.

c) In answer to the question, "Would you favor or oppose lowering the voting age limit so that persons 18, 19 and 20 years old could vote in elections?," 63% said that this age group should be allowed to vote. Among younger people, 66% favored lowering the age limit.

d) In answer to the question, "Should schools teach the facts about all forms of government, including Communism, Fascism and Socialism, 73% of all those questioned said that the schools should teach "isms;" 21% said they

should not; and 6% had no opinion. Young people are more inclined to say that schools should teach these subjects than older people are: 78% felt that the schools should teach "isms;" 18% said they should not; and 4% had no opinion.

e) In reply to the question, "Do you think that the United Nations has justified its existence?" younger people expressed more positive reactions to the UN: 53% felt it had justified its existence as against 48% of the total group. An interesting sidelight on this survey, which was done in March of 1953, is that the strongest belief in the justification of the United Nations is found among college-trained individuals, as well as among young people. Sixty-one per cent of college-trained young people felt the United Nations had justified its existence; 52% of high school graduates felt so; and 38% of grade school graduates felt so.

8) Article in The Nation

Harold Taylor, President of Sarah Lawrence College, in an article entitled The Citizen and the Free School, appearing in the October 3, 1953 issue of The Nation, states:

> "The most recent survey we have of the politics of college graduates covers those who were in college when there was much less anti-Communist sentiment in the country than now. The largest group, 38%, were Republicans; 35% were Independents; 26% were Democrats; and 1/2 of 1% were in all other parties combined, including the Communist, Farmer, Labor, Socialist, Prohibition, Liberal and others."

V. STUDIES ON INTERGROUP ATTITUDES OF YOUNG PEOPLE

We indicated elsewhere that a large proportion of the studies we reviewed on intergroup attitudes might be classified as psychological studies. The basic theory under which this psychological approach is founded may be sumed up by a statement of Bruno Beetelheim in Overcoming Prejudice, published in 1953 by Science Research Associates:

> "Generally prejudice has its roots in social and psychological factors. Even when prejudice is initiated and encouraged by people whose motives are primarily political or economic, its acceptance by large groups of people is likely to be on the basis of their particular social and psychological needs. Prejudice makes use of their desire for security even if a feeling of security can be achieved only by considering others inferior." . . .

"Discrimination may start as soon as the child tries to establish himself as a person and to win the admiration of others - perhaps as early as nursery school or kindergarten. At this age, however, it is not a true discrimination against " out " groups but generally discrimination against individual children as individuals." . . .

"Another medium through which adult prejudice is often passed on to children is the average child's - particularly the young child's - fear of the strange and unknown, and his tendency to look with suspicion on what he does not understand." . . .

"Prejudice can lead to severe personal disintegration and emotional disturbance on the part of the discriminator. Feelings of insecurity, conflict, fear and hate can be so intense as to tear him apart inwardly. His perspective may become distorted and he may have difficulty building positive values. Since prejudice permits him to blame all his fears and inadequacies on a minority group, there is real danger that he will make no effort to do something constructive about them."

The fact-finding staff of the White House Conference on Children and Youth have summed up the psychological studies and the evidence on the relationship of prejudice to personality.

"There appears to be some complex relationship between the total personality structure of an individual and the amount and quality of his prejudices. This relationship cannot be stated in simple causal or specific terms. The individual personality is a complex totality, and it would be expected that any aspect of an individual's feelings, values, ideas, or behavior would be in some way a reflection of his total personality pattern.

"There are some individuals who are extremely prejudiced and who at the same time give evidences of serious personality aberration. This would suggest that there is some relationship between extreme and virulent expressions of prejudice and personality disturbances. There are individuals, however, who show signs of extreme personality disturbances and who do not express extreme or virulent forms of racial and religious prejudices.

"In the studies conducted so far, there are no indications of a relationship between " average " amounts of prejudice and personality disturbances. There is some evidence that certain neurotic mechanisms may be used by a prejudiced individual to support or express his prejudices. There is no evidence, however, that the causes of neurotic personality are also the causes of racial and religious prejudices. Some neurotic individuals may express their neuroticism through racial prejudice; others may express it through social nonconformity and the rejection of racial prejudice.

"Extreme prejudice in an individual may reflect many factors, either acting in aggregate or in different constellations. It may indicate displaced hostility from some nonrelevant source of frustration

> (e.g., deflected hostility from frustrating parents), or it may be an expression of unresolved guilt, anxiety, and emotional conflicts which arise from sources related or unrelated to the actual objects of the prejudice. On the other hand, prejudice may spring from basic, universal needs that differ in degree, quality, and method of satisfaction among human beings depending on whether they are stable or unstable in basic personality structure." (Pages 151-153, Personality in the Making.)

We are omitting an extensive summary of the studies done, based on this approach, since our own agency has done significant research in this area in the Studies in Prejudice series.

The sociologists and research workers who support an approach to an analysis of social attitudes based on societal factors believe that prejudice is a cultural product which is developed in the child as he grows. In a consultation on current social factors affecting teen-age youth and young adults, held in 1952 under the auspices of the National Social Welfare Assembly, a discussion on some of these societal factors pointed up that:

> "In our own culture we are experiencing a gigantic conflict. Our precious heritage of belief in the worth of human personality and the dignity of the individual, which we have nurtured and cultivated, is out with the technological civilization we have created, with its inevitable values of position, power and aggressiveness. We believe one way and, in order to survive, feel we are forced to behave another way."

This conference pointed up that teen-age employment today is higher; more than 2,000,000 young people between the ages of 12 and 17 are working. More than that number worked during the summer. Because more mothers are working, teen-agers have more responsibility at home. Related to this is the fact that parents give children more responsibility and that children have less respect for home discipline.

The rise in delinquency rates has been noted elsewhere. It was pointed out in connection with the above discussion that the rise is greater in cases of rape, robbery, burglary and vandalism. Youth-serving agencies feel a general decline in youth interest in their programs. Young people are gravitating toward mass social activities, away from clubs and small groups.

A definitive study on the sociological factors is Elmtown's Youth, by August B. Hollingshead, Associate Professor of Sociology at Yale University, published in 1949. The author sub-titles this book The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents. In it he describes the way the social system of a middle-western community organizes and controls the social behavior of high school-aged adolescents. It describes the relationships which exist between the behavior patterns of these adolescents and the positions occupied by their families in the community's class structure.

In 1947 Goodwin Watson attempted to evaluate the influence of World War II on youth in a book, Youth After Conflict. He concludes that it is the general

social situation surrounding youth which influences them and not the effect of war in itself.

In the area of race relations, Watson reviews some of the literature reporting on conflicts after each of the major wars in United States history. In a report which appeared after the Civil War, it was stated that in every incident of violence in which Negroes were attacked, there were large numbers of boys and young men in the crowds. During the period of 1919-25, when riots occurred between Negroes and whites in Washington, Chicago, St. Louis and other cities, and when the Klan was expanding, the youth in these areas were greatly influenced by these events. In conclusion he states that "friction and conflict between racial and religious groups will be intensified. . ." after World War II. Clergymen, youth leaders and educators report that they see race conflict as the most serious post-war problem.

In the area of religion, Watson states that "a revival of fundamentalism, neo-orthodoxy and religious reaction is in process." He notes the spectacular development in youth work in the Youth for Christ movement and Fundamentalist growth. A leader in religious education states: "In many parts of the country there is already on the move a reactionary anti-Semitic, anti-Negro movement which is very likely to be tied up with fundamentalistic religion."

In the political area Watson feels that the increasing political conformity is a negative factor to be watched. Some of the individuals he surveyed indicate that both Communism and Fascism will be active in attempting to lure young people to their points of view. An authoritarian program may be very attractive to young people if economic conditions do not continue to offer reasonable openings to young people. One correspondent states: "The Fascist program may well be the more attractive here as it was in Europe after the last war. Youth generally, because of the difficulty of growing up, like their heroes to speak with authority and they don't always differentiate as to program offered." Watson concludes: "The great strength of Fascism in America will be as it was in Europe, its fanatical opposition to Bolshevism. The rivalry in the United Nations between the USA and the USSR as the two dominant powers in the world, encourages an identification between being bitterly anti-Russian and being strongly pro-American. The political organization which will be the carrier of American Fascism has not yet emerged but a number of influential newspapers and commentators are already beating their tom-toms almost daily in a call for war against the Reds."

A strong youth movement in America seems unlikely. There is general belief that we provide ineffective opportunities for young people to participate in community life. However, the author anticipates that there will be a drift towards a more international outlook and that this, in turn, will eventually develop a counter-movement of resurgent nationalism. "This Fascistic appeal to youth will probably be linked with . . . a return to religious orthodoxy. Aliens, radicals and minority group members will be excluded. Funds will be supplied by business interests afraid of advancing social change."

Watson predicts that on the whole race and religious prejudice will be milder. However, he says that there will probably be an "active and vicious minority" within the youth group influenced by adult hatreds.

For purposes of summary we are grouping the study material to which we wish to make reference under three categories:

A) Those relating to children, roughly, up to the age of 12.

B) Those relating to adolescents and teen-agers.

C) Those relating to young adults. Included in this group will be material on college students.

D) Those relating to the modification of behavior in young people.

Those studies summarized below are a small fraction of the studies reviewed in connection with this survey. They are summarized to indicate the general areas of research and some of the findings which have application to our interest.

A) Summary of Some Studies Relating to Attitudes of Young Children

In general, one might summarize the hypothesis on which studies about this age level are based as follows:

1) The authoritarian attitudes of parents are related to greater incidence of prejudice in their children; strong prejudice against whole groups may indicate emotional disorders.

2) Prejudice is part of the social development, an acculturation process which takes place from early childhood.

1) Dale B. Harris, Harrison G. Gough and William E. Martin: Relationship of Parental Beliefs Concerning Child Training to Children's Ethnic Attitudes. Institute of Child Welfare, University of Minnesota. 1950.

A questionnaire relating to opinions and practices on child rearing was given to the mothers of 240 children of the fourth, fifth and sixth grades. The children had been previously tested for attitudes towards ethnic and racial groups. The writers found that ". . . attitudes of tolerance and good judgment in child rearing are, possibly, part of a personality and attitude complex on the parent's part which is associated with freedom from ethnic prejudice in children."

2) Ronald Lippitt and Marion Radke: New Trends in the Investigation of Prejudice.
The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. March, 1946.

The authors pose the possibility that the child, as he grows into the culture of his group, learns primarily to accept the reaction of a parent, a friend or a teacher, to an idea as something good or bad. The

child does not necessarily understand the reasons for the reaction of the authority. Later he learns this meaning and may acquire rationalizations for his negative or positive attitudes. In other words, he learns "without benefit of personal experience but through the derogatory references of the adults to feel only dislike or disgust for the 'dirty Japs,' the 'Red menance,' or the not-to-be-trusted Catholics, or capitalists, or labor unions, or foreigners." Long before the groups thus labelled have any reality for the child, they represent for him an undesirable."

3) Rose Zeligs: Reasons Given By Children For Their Intergroup Attitudes. Journal of Genetic Psychology. March, 1950.

The author reports on a study done among 500 12-year old Cincinnati children during the years 1942 through '44. Many of these were Jewish children. A comparable group had been studied in 1931. They were asked to indicate their most-liked and their least-liked groups, and were asked to give their feelings about these groups. They were also asked what they would like to be if they were not Americans. The author concludes that "although customs, costumes, cleanliness, language, religion, character qualities and civilization are still given by the children as the reasons for their attitudes, the present trends are away from prejudice because of racial and physical differences."

4) Charles Bird, Harvey Burdick, Elio D. Monachesi: The Effect of Parental Discouragement of Play Activities Upon the Attitudes of White Children Towards Negroes.
Library for Research in Social Relations, University of Minnesota. 1952.

One hundred fifty-two white children enrolled in the third, fourth and fifth grades were interviewed. In addition, 272 parents, representing 145 families, were interviewed. There appear to be disparities in the statements of parents and their children on whether or not there had been parental discouragement of play activities towards Negroes. In many instances, where parents said they had not prohibited their children from playing with Negroes, their children had nevertheless received the impression that they were not to play with such children. About 24% of the boys and 30% of the girls said their parents had told them not to play with Negro children. These children are more prejudiced than children who had not been aware of outspoken restraint. Where parents have attempted restraints but the children say they have not been aware of it, the children show little prejudice. On the basis of this study it would seem that very few of the families display vigorous efforts to educate their children in democratic attitudes. On the other hand, strong efforts were not made to inculcate strong antipathies towards Negroes. The children seem to be able to incorporate the admonitions of their parents, spoken or unspoken. There is a suggestion in this study that children have not yet had their attitudes structured into either strong antipathy or marked liking for Negro children.

5) Lawrence Park: An Investigation of Some Relationships Between Emotional Needs and Prejudice Towards Minority Groups.
New York University and Bureau for Intercultural Education. 1950.

This study attempted to examine the relationship between changes in certain important emotional needs of children and changes in the prejudices these children held. Fourth, fifth and sixth grade students were used. On the basis of this study it would seem that strong support was given to the psychological theory that prejudice towards whole groups of people indicates emotional disorder. The evidence seemed clearest in regard to prejudice toward Negroes and somewhat less sharp when related to Jews and Catholics.

6) Rose Zeligs: Attitudes of 12-Year Olds Towards Other Races and Nationalities. Cincinnati Public Schools. 1931-1946.

The author reports in an article appearing in the Journal of Negro Education in the winter of 1951 on studies made among 12-year-olds intermittently during the period of 1931-1946. Children in a mid-Western city were given attitude tests and personal interviews and were asked about their feelings towards members of 39 races and nationalities. Throughout the period 12-year-olds expressed much misinformation, prejudice and hatred. However, the most recent tests reveal a trend somewhat away from the strong antipathies of the past. The author expresses the belief that personal contact with persons of different races and nationalities, fortified by actual factual knowledge, can do much to improve the child's attitudes towards other cultures and peoples.

7) Sister Mary Jeanine Gruesser: Attitudes of Parochial School Children Towards Jews.
Catholic University, 1950.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the intergroup relations of Catholic and Jewish children living in the same urban neighborhood. Seven hundred and thirty-seven children in the seventh and eighth grades of New York City parochial schools were tested. The average age was 12 to 13. Of these, 21% said they have close associations with Jews. 51% said they had no Jewish friends; 28% said they had limited association with Jews. The author of this study summarizes her findings as follows:

1) Anti-Jewish feeling predominates over dislikes of Negroes, Italians or any other nationality or religious groups.

2) These children indicate that the subject of relations with other children is persistently looked at in the framework of being Catholic and that the religious motivation seems the strongest.

3) With two exceptions name-calling was not found among the comments of these Catholic children. This may partially be explained, says the investigator, as a suppression of real feelings towards Jews so as not to make a bad impression.

4) There does not seem to be any definite relation between the attitude towards Jews and the number of Jews in the neighborhood.

5) There was significant difference in the attitudes towards Jews between Catholic children having close personal relations with Jews, and those having limited relations or none at all. Children who had the most contact with Jews manifested a liking for all groups. Those who had no Jewish friends exhibited the most pronounced in-group attitude.

6) Religion was the one item mentioned most frequently in the comments regarding intergroup relations. However, explanatory comments indicated that Catholic children tended to regard Jews as a cultural group and that, in explaining dislikes of Jews, a large number of children mentioned unacceptable personal and social traits. Very few stereotypes of Jews were based on their religious affiliations.

7) The attitudes of these Catholic children seemed to be anti-Jewish rather than anti-Semitic, in the sense of distinction between these two made by Arnold Rose. (He had described anti-Judaism as a matter of personal antipathy and avoidance of social contact; anti-Semitism, on the other hand, tends to acts of violence.)

In conclusion the investigator states: "The over-all conclusion regarding the attitude of Catholic children towards Jews in their neighborhoods was that they tended to evaluate them not as individual persons but as members of a group to which they applied a catalogue of characteristics, habits and traits which are commonly attributed to the Jewish group. . . . Over half of the children maintained that members of their families shared their attitudes towards Jews. . . . Most of the evaluations of these Catholic children concerning Jews reflected an attitude of prejudice expressed in stereotypes frequently ascribed to Jews by non-Jews in our society."

B) Summary of Studies Relating to Attitudes of Teen-agers and Adolescents

As noted elsewhere, the teen-age period seems to have great interest for research workers in every field. In the summary of material listed below, none have been included which deal with problems of delinquency. This material appears in a separate section (Note: Dr. H.H. Remmers of the Purdue Opinion Poll surveys teen-agers three or four times a year for information on a variety of matters. We have not included any Remmers material, since this material will be included in the part of the study done by the Scientific Department.

Hollingshead, in Elmtown's Youth, makes the point that from the viewpoint of the sociologist, adolescence is distinctly different from the concept

which psychologists, physiologists and educators have of it. Sociologically, adolescence is the period when society no longer regards the young person as a child but does not yet permit him an adult role. Although physical and psychological changes have a bearing on the behavior of the adolescent, society regards adolescent behavior as a type of transitional behavior which is dependent in large measure on the position the individual holds in the social structure.

1) Melvin J. Williams: Social Norms of Adolescents: Study in Social Guidance. Department of Sociology, Stetson University. DeLand, Florida. 1951

The worker here attempts to answer certain questions about adolescents: What are the fundamental values of American adolescents? Where do they get their ideas about standards of conduct? What are the sources of their ideas? By what measures do adolescents attempt to evaluate themselves? Whom do they try to be like? The data of this study indicates that modern adolescents have a rather uniform and fundamental set of values. Young people were interviewed and asked where they get their ideas. Teen-agers considered the following to be the most important areas from which they obtain their concepts: movies, radio, friends and peer associates, teachers, advertisements, institutional participation, parents, athletic events, books, magazines, newspapers, gang leaders, crowds, cliques and their own individual creativity. The phenomena of hero worship is uniformly present among adolescents. A large majority of them are conscious of trying to be like someone, and often more than one person at a time. Although there does not seem to be a well defined hero type, the study does suggest a tendency for boys to imitate some athlete most frequently and their fathers next; and for girls to be like their mothers and other girls of their own age.

2) Dale E. Harris: Adolescence and Responsibility.
Paper delivered before National Child Labor Committee on June 2, 1953.

Dr. Harris, who is associated with the Institute of Child Welfare at the University of Minnesota, reports on a study of 3,000 children in small towns and rural areas of Minnesota, and 1,200 urban children. The children ranged in age from 8 to 18 and were representative of the occupational distributions from their areas. The report indicates that a very slight increase in responsibility with age is shown. Girls seem to accept responsibility earlier than boys. Dr. Harris points out that the lack of improvement of responsibility with age could mean a number of things: "That responsibility gets organized as a feature of personality quite early; on the other hand, it may be a late development occurring in late adolescence or early maturity, when the child comes up against the realities of life; or it could be that our measures are completely irrelevant to the kinds of responsibility which are really effectively taught children between the ages of 8 and 16." As a result of these studies Dr. Harris believes that the adult's attitudes towards responsibility are more important than giving specific work assignments to the child. This study may help explain some of the teen-agers' lack

of interest in civic and community responsibility and of their reluctance to assume independent responsibility for civic actions.

3) John C. Tracey: Class Differentials as Exhibited in Teen-Age Groups. New York University. 1949.

The author studied four groups, each representing a different level of economic and occupational backgrounds. Each group was independently formed by teen-agers themselves, had an age range of 13 to 15 years, and was homogeneous from the point of view of parental occupations, living conditions and neighborhoods. Of the four groups studied, the group coming from the lowest economic level shows an unusual tendency to conformity and towards making an impression on others. In interests the group leans towards athletic values. The middle-class groups exhibit an interest in cultural matters. Members tend towards a more "professional" approach to most questions. Group identification seemed less important to its members than it does in lower economic groups. The group from the highest income level seemed quite conscious of its class position. Its members exhibited verbal attitudes towards lower economic groups that seemed to be the socially accepted value; however, they exhibited little spontaneous feelings for teen-agers outside their group.

In summary the study indicates that teen-age groups represent differentials which arise as the result of their socio-economic and ideological backgrounds. Differences which are seen appear to follow class lines rather than ethnic or religious lines. Members of minority groups, racial and religious, identify more with the economic group from which they come than with the racial or religious group. The uniformity which appears in all of these groups is in the choice of subjects of interest. Almost all of them have an interest in problems of race relations and race prejudice, but the depth of interest would have to be explored.

4) William C. Reavis: Interracial and Minority Group Problems in Schools. Reported in The School Review. 1946.

A group of secondary school administrators in the Chicago area undertook an investigation as a result of a student strike in Gary, Indiana, and other interracial and minority group outbreaks in the schools. The administrators were attempting to find out what the conditions are that are potential sources of interracial and minority conflict.

Sixty schools were investigated. Of these, 36 have mixed enrollments; 17 permit mixed enrollments but have no Negro students; and 7% do not permit Negroes to enroll. Approximately 96% of the students are white, 3½% Negro, and less than 1% Asiatics.

Twenty-eight out of the 36 schools with mixed enrollments reported cases of interracial dissension and minority group conflicts. The general causes for these outbreaks reported by 27 of these 28 schools were: A feeling of insecurity on the part of some group; an attitude of superiority on the part of some group; conflicting demands from various groups as to what the

school's policy should be (this from either pupils or parents); differing mores or customs among two or more groups; difference in social or economic levels among two or more groups.

5) George A. Lundberg and Lenore Dickson: Inter-ethnic Relations in a High School Population.
University of Washington, Seattle. 1950.

Two high schools in the city were compared to show the degree of intergroup attitude in these schools. Fifteen hundred students filled out questionnaires. The great majority, more than 91%, were non-Jewish whites. There were only 44 Jewish students out of a total of 1,500, 37 Japanese, 28 Negro, 22 Chinese, 73 Italian and other smaller groupings. Along religious lines, about 60% were Protestant, 15% Catholic, and 2½% Jewish, while the rest did not affiliate with any church. The study indicated that mutual friends are more likely to be similar with respect to sex, class and ethnic group. As a group, Jews tend to be rejected by a disproportionately large percentage of students. On the whole, the majority group had greater in-group feeling in the school where the minorities were large.

6) Katherine H. Cutler: A Study of Racial Attitudes.
University of Florida. June, 1951.

This study was an attempt to develop a scale with which to measure some attitudes towards Negroes of a group of high school students in a small Florida school. Tenth, eleventh and twelfth grade students from the upper-lower, lower-middle, and upper-middle classes were interviewed. None of the children came from great poverty or extreme wealth. All of them had a rural background. Two-thirds were native Floridians and one-half were at least second generation Floridians.

The most significant conclusion seems to be that the young people in this area of Florida exhibit a great deal of anti-Negro sentiment. A large proportion regard the Negro as criminal, degenerate, inferior. There is general agreement that segregation is wise. However, girls appear to be more liberal in their views than boys. Native-born Floridians show more prejudice than those born in the North.

The author concludes that although there is some encouragement shown in answers to a few of the questions asked ". . . yet it is only too obvious that the Negro in the community under study will wait a long time before he is given the rights accorded him by the rights of his country."

7) T. E. Sullenger: Attitudes of 350 Negro High School Students.
Department of Sociology, Municipal University of Omaha, Nebraska. 1948.

This study of 350 Negro high school students in Omaha was an attempt to evaluate the interest of Negro young people in skilled and professional occupations. However, the race question comes through in answer to almost every question on occupation. The attitude of Negro students can be summarized as follows: "Negroes are tending to prefer Negroes for employers. However, more students wish to work in mixed groups than those who do not."

On the whole, Negro students want more rights and are dissatisfied with their present situation. Over 80% believe that labor unions are necessary. An interesting highlight is the fact that these Negro students indicate closer feelings to other minority groups in America than towards American whites. "Lack of parental interests in the children, lack of money, lack of good jobs, racial segregation and poor Negro communities are the greatest problems of the Negro family," according to the students queried.

8) Benjamin Smith: Wishes of Negro High School Seniors and Social Class Status. Reported in Journal of Educational Sociology. April, 1952.

Two hundred and sixty-five seniors from Negro high schools from Durham and Charlotte, North Carolina and Richmond, Virginia were used in an attempt to discover the relationship between expressed wishes and the social status of these students. The group consisted of about 5% upper-middle, 16% lower-middle, 36% upper-lower, and 43% lower class individuals. The findings reveal a close correlation between the desires of Negro high school seniors and social class:

> The upper-middle class Negro student is more concerned about personal appearances.
>
> The two lower classes are more concerned with racial segregation.
>
> Two upper classes are concerned with world conditions.

Money occupies first place in the desires of upper and lower middle class seniors. Students in all classes express a desire for a car and better clothing. A large percentage of upper-middle and lower-middle class seniors aspire to professional jobs while members of the two lower classes were indifferent about their vocations.

9) George D. Mayo and John R. Kinzer: A Comparison of the "Racial" Attitudes of White and Negro High School Students in 1940 and 1948. Department of Psychology, Ohio State University, 1940 and 1949.

In 1940 a test to determine racial attitudes of high school students in three schools for whites and four schools for Negroes in Tennessee was given. Eight years later the same schools were visited again and the same test administered to the students present. Nine hundred and sixteen white and 1,093 Negro students were tested. There was a considerable shift between 1940 and 1948 towards a favorable attitude towards Negroes. Both the Negro and white students differed least on legal and theoretical issues. Those on which they differed most involved interracial relations of a social character such as eating at the same places, shaking hands, non-segregation in schools, movies and others.

In analyzing the reasons for the shift, the author indicates that the change in attitude was due more to the fact that Negro students were more articulate in their feelings and in what they considered just demands, than any comparable shift in attitudes on the part of the white students.

10) Clarence W. Norris: A Comparative Study of Selected White and Negro Youth of San Antonio, Texas, With Special Reference to Certain Basic Social Attitudes.
University of Southern California. November, 1950.

The purpose of this study was to find out the nature of the social attitudes of Negro school youth in San Antonio towards basic phases of community life - the family, religion, school, employment, recreation, race relations, marriage and juvenile delinquency. It also attempted to find out any significant differences between the social attitudes of white and Negro school youth on the same educational level.

Approximately 500 young people were questioned, half Negro and half white. As background material the author quotes from a 1942 study done by Robert L. Sutherland for the American Council on Education, called Color, Class and Personality: "Having the label of being a Negro does make a difference anywhere in the United States. There are either formal restrictions or informal, subtle limitations placed upon one so identified, regardless of what other traits he possessed." In summary the author lists the following findings:

> "The traditional parental and adult social attitudes are reflected to some extent in the viewpoints of youth.
>
> "Compared to the religious attitudes of the San Antonio white youth those of the Negro reflected a less trust in the ministry and religion.
>
> "There is a great deal of resistance in a racially segregated social system against social innovations.
>
> "The Latin American culture contributes a liberal racial attitude to communities in which Negroes live.
>
> "There is a strong tendency of southern white youth to deviate from the traditional racial attitudes of their parents.
>
> "A persistence in race caste patterns exists in the American culture.
>
> "There is an apparent decline of the racial segregation mores as the southern way of life.
>
> "A positive Negro leadership in the South directing a strong movement to eliminate unequal opportunities on the basis of race is in the ascendency.
>
> "Basically, the social attitudes and interests of all youth are somewhat the same, except for differences due to family background, race, class, culture, and locality in which the youth perchance is reared."

11) Omer C. Stewart: The Attitudes of High School Students in Colorado Toward Minority Groups.
Anthropology Department, University of Colorado. 1946.

The author demonstrated a simple questionnaire listing eight stereotype statements regarding various minority groups to high school students in 23 small Colorado towns. In addition this test was given to students in five cities having a population of more than 10,000. Three larger cities also gave this questionnaire to their high school students.

The assumption on which the author worked was the fact that people who accept exaggerated, illogical and unscientific statements about minorities reveal a degree of prejudice greater than that possessed by people who do not accept such statements. The author found that the stereotypes were accepted by a higher proportion of very young people, from 11 to 15 years old, and the very old, who were also given the questionnaire - 66 to 79 years old.

An anti-Semitic stereotype about Jews' ability to do business, and that they "naturally tend to be dishonest so that they can make more money" was accepted by more than one-fourth of those participating - 28%. The only stereotype which was accepted by a larger proportion of people was that regarding interracial marriages.

Veterans accepted the anti-Semitic stereotype less frequently than non-veterans. People with more than a high school education were less likely to accept the stereotype. Nearly a third of the thousand Catholics participating, and a fourth of the Protestants agreed to the Jewish stereotype. Although nine-tenths of the Jewish population in Colorado lives in Denver, statistically a very significant larger proportion of rural residents accepted the stereotype about Jews than did the city dwellers.

The author concludes that the evidence from this study supports the view that attitudes are learned from others to a greater extent than they are acquired from personal experience. He feels that "an exaggerated emphasis on the role of biology, specifically, inheritance, in determining individual and group behavior aids the survival of racist ideas and will probably serve as a barrier aginst the acquisition of an understanding that behavior is learned."

12) W.B.Brookover, D.G.Epley and G.P.Stone: Dynamics of Prejudice Among Maple County Youth.
Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, in cooperation with AJC and ADL. 1952.

In 1949, as part of a larger study, the authors examined the attitudes of school children in a rural mid-Western community from the sixth, ninth and twelfth grades. At that time boys and girls expressed decidedly less prejudice against minorities than the adults in the community. In 1952 the authors went back to see what attitudes these students now showed. The residents in the community, on the whole, gave little consideration to minority problems in the course of their daily lives. There were few Jews or Negroes living in the community.

The authors were attempting, in their second study, to evaluate the relationship of the expressions of prejudice and the role and status of the individual in group situations. "Changes in such expression are therefore a function of changes in social position and social role, rather than of changes in basic personality structure. . . . In those cases where prejudice is deeply rooted in personality, maybe only therapeutic threatment can accomplish change. However, where prejudice is bound up with conventional modes of behavior, it is vulnerable to change on a broad scale."

Between 1949 and 1952 some of these changes became evident: about one-quarter of the students with tolerant scores in 1949 became less tolerant in 1952. About three out of five with intolerant or intermediate scores became more tolerant. The author states significantly that ". . . the high proportion of change in total prejudice scores demonstrates that prejudice is not stable in the adolescent years. Changes occur apparently, even though no organized effort is made to affect such changes. The high prejudice level among adults in this community suggests that many of those youth will change their minority sentiments again when they reach adult status."

In summary, in addition to the above findings, the authors report that the children of farmers are more prejudiced toward Jews than children on non-farmers. They may also be more likely to change toward prejudice during the adolescent period. There is evidence that students who dislike their teachers are less tolerant and less likely to change towards tolerance than those who are "more positively oriented." This suggests that the relationship between teacher and student is an important factor in modification of prejudice.

13) Benjamin Wolman: The Jewish Adolescent: A Review of Materials Appearing During 1946 to 1950.
Jewish Social Studies. October, 1951

The author reviews the materials dealing with the Jewish adolescent over a five-year period. During these years a total of 93 articles on Jewish topics appeared in psychological abstracts published by the American Psychological Association. Of these only a very small number deal with the attitudes of Jewish children and youth. The other area, aside from the strictly psychological, in which few studies have been done with Jewish youth, are on the scholastic and mental abilities of Jewish students; on the effects of prejudice on the Jewish child; and on the problems relating to Jewish group identification and security.

The author feels that, as the psychological and sociological studies of the Jewish child stand today, they do not yield enough information and do not permit of any generalization. He feels there is a need for study into the sociological and socio-psychological factors operating among Jewish young people.

14) Isidor Chein and Jacob I. Hurwitz: A Study of Minority Group Membership: Reactions of Jewish Boys to Various Aspects of Being Jewish.
National Jewish Welfare Board. 1950.

This study, done in cooperation with the Commission on Community Interrelations, was done among 166 boys in Jewish centers. They ranged in age from 7 to 17, from relatively high and relatively low socio-economic status, and from backgrounds which identified as postively Jewish and from those which were further from "Jewish environment." The purpose of the study was to throw some light on how a youngster feels about his Jewishness in the belief that this factor may seriously affect his identification with the Jewish group, his relations with non-Jewish peers, and his personal and social adjustment.

In summary it would seem that the younger groups show positive attitudes towards Jewish activity and association to a greater extent than older groups. As the youngster grows into teen-age, there is a broadening of horizons which bring with it a "growing reluctance to be socially and culturally isolated, accompanied by an increasing concern about non-Jews, frequently associated with defensiveness and feelings of insecurity."

Children from low socio-economic status reveal a greater tendency to prefer activities with Jewish identification than children from high socio-economic status.

In conclusion the authors state: "If we were to reduce these patterns to a single statement, it would be the following: With increasing acculturation (a process that probably goes on - although perhaps in different ways - with aging, with improved socio-economic status, and, as a rule, with a perceptible decrease in Jewish environment), there is an increasing desire for social and cultural integration with the general community. In the case of the age and socio-economic breakdowns, this desire for social integration is clearly associated with increased defensiveness and feelings of insecurity."

C) Summary of Some Studies Relating to Attitudes of Young Adults

The material for this age group yielded less than that for any of the other groups. The greatest proportion of material found dealt with college students. Below are summaries of typical studies:

1) Edward C. Olds: Young Adult Study.
National Social Welfare Assembly. 1953.

The purpose of this study was to secure information on the basic needs and interests of young adults as related to their development as responsible citizens in a democracy; to evaluate the nature of participation of young adults in public affairs, and the factors explaining such involvement; and to analyze the services of agencies serving young adults.

Some of the characteristics of young adults (18 to 30 years, out of high school): There are 30,500,000 people in this age group; young people are marrying early and are involved in the responsibilities of building a home and family; the young adults are the most mobile members of the population and move easily from community to community and from job to job. Compared with other age groups they are "economically under-privileged." Their major concerns are the choice of careers, getting settled on a job, and finding the direction of their lives. On the whole, young adults today are better educated than their elders.

As a summary of young adults' interests and problems today, the study indicates that their primary concerns are personal, social and economic. Entertainment and recreation play a major part in young adult life. They "want to be amused." Young adults prefer informal social groups to formally organized ones. The author considers this an outgrowth of the teen-age participation in cliques or gangs.

Most young adults do not participate in public affairs. Of those who do, more are men than women, more are single than married, and more are people with above-average income. Of the young adults interviewed in connection with this study, many expressed the feeling that nothing can be done about public issues. The author of this study feels that this attitude can be regarded as "the reflection of greater compexity in social life, the manipulation of attitudes and a tendency towards the concentration of social and political power." The young adult feels inept and inferior and has no feeling of a stake in community affairs.

The author feels that agency or planned programs can be most effectively carried out on a specific project.

College Youth

The greatest amount of material dealing with college youth dealt with their attitudes towards race relations. In an article appearing in The Crisis in October, 1951, Alvin Krebs, who is Managing Editor of the University of Mississippi weekly, describes an incident about an editorial which he wrote in which he stated that Mississippi was morally and legally obligated to allow Negro applicants to enter the university schools. The reaction to the editorial was widespread and unpleasant. The Chancellor of the University disclaimed it as the opinion of the university; Congressman Rankin attributed it to Communist influence. But a vast majority of the students agreed with the editorial. Eighty-five per cent of those writing letters were in complete accord with what he had written.

Some typical studies done among college youth are summarized below.

2) Bernard Klein: Relationship Between Educational Level and Attitudes Toward the Negro.
City College of New York. June, 1951.

The author attempted to test the hypothesis that students become more liberal in their attitude towards Negroes as they advance through college. As a conclusion of the study the author states that freshmen are less liberal than the other classes in their attitudes towards Negroes; the conventional Negro stereotypes are rejected but a large percentage of students are unwilling to accept Negroes on a social level.

3) E. Terry Prothro: Group Differences in Ethnic Attitudes of Louisiana College Students.
Reported in Sociology and Social Research. March, 1950.

Six hundred and fifty-two students at six Louisiana colleges, all of which include Negroes, were tested. Protestants were chosen from some of the colleges, and Catholics from others. In conclusion the author states that on the whole Protestants are more favorable toward the Negro than Catholic students; Protestants who are more closely identified with the church are more favorable toward the Negro than those less closely identified; women students have a more favorable attitude toward the Negro than men.

4) Claude Dahmer, Jr. and Elliott McGinnies: Shifting Sentiment Towards Civil Rights in a Southern University.
Reported in Public Opinion Quarterly. Summer, 1949.

Student attitudes toward the Negro and civil rights were analyzed at the University of Alabama. The predominant sentiment is one of resistance to change related to racial issues, but there is an undercurrent of shifting opinion. More liberal opinions were expressed regarding political rights than social privileges. As illustrated by the poll tax, resistance to reform is weaker when it involves state action than when it involves federal action. The students show an increasing tendency to view lynching as always unjustifiable, and they approve a federal anti-lynch law. There was general agreement that the admission of Negro students was undesirable.

5) Eugene S. Richards: Attitudes of College Students in the Southwest Toward Ethnic Groups in the United States.
Reported in Sociology and Social Research. September-October, 1950.

The purpose of the study is to report on the real or possible reactions of a number of college students to their relations with the various ethnic groups in the United States. A questionnaire that includes a list of statements that might be accepted or rejected by the students as referring to characteristics of various ethnic groups was used. These questionnaires were completed by 1,672 white students enrolled in colleges and universities located in Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas. The two major conclusions are:

1) White college students in the Southwest have accepted many of the stereotypes concerning the ethnic groups in the United States that are prevalent among the masses of the population.

2) They are much more negative in their reactions toward Japanese, Negroes, and Mexicans than they are toward Indians, foreign-born white, native-born whites, Jews, Chinese and Filipinos.

6) A. B. Hollingshead: Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates. Reported in the American Sociological Review. October, 1950.

This paper presents information on the cultural controls at work in the selection of marriage partners in New Haven. All New Haven marriage license data for 1948 were analyzed. The five factors found operative were race, age, religion, ethnic origin and class. "The racial mores were found to be the most explicit on this point. They divided the community into two pools of marriage mates and an individual fished for a mate only in his own racial pool. Religion divided the white race into three smaller pools. Age further subdivided the potential pool of marriage mates into rather definite age grades, (though not precise)." Ethnic origin placed further restriction on choice. Class position and education stratified the three religious pools into areas where an individual was most likely to find a mate. The author concludes that "one's subculture . . . race, age and class positions in the society effectively determine the kind of a person one will marry, but not the exact individual."

7) Amanda Byington and others: University of Tennessee Students' Opinion on Admission of Negroes.
Between May, 1951 and March, 1952.

This study was conducted to discover the prevailing opinion among students regarding the admission of Negroes to the university, which was imminent. Four hundred and sixty-one students were questioned. Some of the significant questions and the replies are:

	Yes	No
Do you think Negroes are capable of doing university work?	429	22
Do you think that at present Negroes have equal educational opportunities in Tennessee at the college level?	53	386
Should Negroes be admitted to the graduate school?	301	48
Should Negroes be admitted to the undergraduate level?	229	217
Do you want Negroes in the same classes with you?	213	226
Would you object to a Negro teacher?	227	222
Would you be willing to share library privileges with Negroes?	327	121
Would you be willing to share cafeteria privileges with Negroes?	219	230
Would you be willing to live in a dormitory with Negroes?	136	314

	Yes	No
Would you be willing to share a room with a Negro?	65	386
Would you include Negroes among your friends?	228	201

D) Summary of Selected Materials Relating to the Modification of the Behavior of Youth

We are omitting here studies dealing with the psychiatric approach to the change in individual behavior. For purposes of completeness, however, mention should be made of the field of parent education oriented on scientific principles. Many popular pieces based on earlier scientific research have appeared in an effort to help majority group parents so that their children may grow up with an understanding of other people. More recently there has been an emphasis on helping the minority group parent secure his children against prejudice.

We have also not included much of the material on school curricula and suggested changes in teaching methods which may help in the modification of behavior. However, it is important to note the work done by the American Council on Education described below. It is helpful, too, to note the growing body of knowledge in the field of group work and group dynamics. Work done in the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, founded by the late Kurt Lewin, offers some helpful directions in a knowledge of the methods that may be used in modifying behavior. In this connection reference is made to Training in Community Relations, by Ronald Lippitt (Harpers 1949) in which there is reported the work of the Research Center in Group Dynamics. In Chapter 14 of this volume (page 240) Tools for Social Change: Action-Research and Training in Human Relations Skills, there is an analysis of methods and problems inherent in developing an effective collaboration between the social scientist and the practitioner.

In Living Without Hate: Scientific Approaches to Human Relations, by Alfred J. Marrow (Harpers, 1951) there is an effort to sum up and evaluate a variety of continuing studies in the nature and causes of tensions between people and in methods by which these tensions might be released. The author stresses the principles of group dynamics and action-research. He concludes that:

> "To change in-group and out-group antagonisms calls for far more than changing individual attitudes. Attitudes are part of the group's culture rather than isolated units of a personal being. Hence the change must usually be collective . . . . Hence most prejudices tend to maintain themselves and to resist change unless the standards of the group are changed concurrently. To date the most promising ways of doing this are those that follow the group dynamic principles . . . . One of the first steps in seeking to

change . . . group beliefs, attitudes and modes of action is to take away from the attitude to be changed the environmental support it receives from the wider community."

Below are listed a summary of a small, selected group of studies done recently. These were selected with an eye to giving a broad sampling of the interests in research in modifying behavior.

1) Lloyd Allen Cook: Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education: An Analytical Study of Intergroup Education in Colleges and Schools in the United States. (College Study in Intergroup Relations. American Council on Education, 1951)

Twenty-four studies done in connection with the college study in intergroup relations, on the effect of teaching on changing attitudes and information, developed certain findings: 1) Group process education and community participation produce greater increases in liberal views than do academic methods. 2) Religious attitudes and social class values seem more resistant to change, among those students going in for teaching.

The studies evaluate certain teaching methods: group processes, teaching community education, implementation of school policies, etc.

2) Russell Hogrefe, Mary C. Evans, Isidor Chein: The Effects on Intergroup Attitudes of Participation in an Interracial Play Center.

The Commission on Community Interrelations. 1947.

Two hundred and forty children living in the neighborhood of a play center were assigned to groups on the basis of age, sex and race. The age range was 8 to 14 years. The population was half white and half Negro. At the beginning of the program the children were given an attitude test of prejudice. At the end of the program the test was re-administered. During the course of the project half of the leaders verbalized the mixed ethnic composition of the group, whenever the group was having a pleasant experience. The other half made no such reference. The hypothesis on which this was based was that changes could be produced by this action. This experiment did not yield any conclusive results. However, the author concludes that there was a change in the children's attitudes in certain projective tests. The children who attended the interracial center showed significantly higher avoidance of segregated patterns than children not attending the center. Says the author: "Our conclusion must be that the play center program changed intergroup attitudes and behavior only at a relatively high level of irreality, as far as segregation is concerned. . . . There needs to be more research into the possibilities of the type of leader behavior (here employed) in order to get a final answer as to whether it is a worthwhile method of attempting to change intergroup attitudes."

3) Study of Intergroup Relations and Practices in Resident Agency Camps. Committee on Camping, National Social Welfare Assembly. 1953.

This study emerged from an interest on the part of this committee to help affiliated agency camps improve interracial, intergroup and intercultural relations. The questionnaire was administered to 88 camps in 33 communities. Questions asked included methods that camp directors used in the screening of personnel, in the development of program, in the use of lay committees, in solicitation of children. In conclusion the study states that it is evident that the problem of intergroup relations needs to be given additional consideration by camp leaders. There is a general lack of awareness that a problem exists. This unawareness on the part of camp directors is founded upon actual lack of experience since most of the camps have very few minority group members either as campers or as staff. Therefore, real intergroup experiences do not exist. The study states: "It would appear that a conscious effort to solicit campers from minority groups and the employment of personnel with conviction in this area would be an important step in developing criteria for evaluating intergroup practices in camp settings."

4) Blanche L. Coombs: A Study of the Need for Interracial Experiences Revealed By the Reactions of Children.
The Atlanta University School of Social Work, in coöperation with Parkway-Emerson House in Chicago. 1950.

Twenty-five white and 25 Negro participants of an interracial camping experience, organized by two settlement houses in Chicago, were given attitude tests. The camp staff was asked to develop a series of learning experiences to help campers modify some of their reactions. These were in the area of normal camping activities. After the camping experience the participants showed "a beginning acceptance of racial differences" and established pleasant new relationships with members of other races.

5) Courtnay W. Bell: A Study of Group Behavior and Intergroup Relations in Camp.
School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University. 1949.

This study attempted to throw light on the effectiveness of an intergroup camping experience in promoting intergroup understanding. Two units of 20 campers each, boys and girls, were observed and data was gathered on the choice of companions, the choice of activity, the personal and social adjustment to camp living on the part of individual campers. The author concludes that girls showed less resistance to the intergroup program than the boys. He states further that in placing children in this kind of a structured situation, care should be taken that differences in physical and social development do not reinforce previously conceived stereotypes or encourage the development of new ones. The author also indicates the need for pre-camp training and orientation of staff members.

6) Stewart G. Cole: A Youth Leadership Program:
Los Angeles. National Conference of Christians and Jews. 1950-51.

A camp in Southern California was set up expressly for an interracial experience for teen-agers. The campers and staff included all ethnic, economic and religious groups living in Southern California. The camp program included a discussion every morning on social problems, group relations, etc.

At the end of the summer the consensus among the young people was that this was a valuable intercultural experience, that many reservations had broken down in mixing with members of other groups. and that this experience can be carried over into life at home, in school and in their own social groups.

7) Martha Evans Whittaker: A Study and Evaluation of the Program Used in the Development of Intergroup Relations in a Settlement House. The Atlanta University School of Social Work and Union Settlement. 1948 through 1950.

This study attempted to evaluate a mechanism set up in the Union Settlement in New York City in an effort to improve group relations. A special intergroup committee, composed of representatives of teen-age clubs in the settlement house met regularly to plan programs and to evaluate them. The author concludes that permitting a democratic, decision-making experience for teen-agers at their own level is helpful in furthering better group contacts.

8) Janet D. Minn: Interpersonal Relations in Interracial Groups. Western Reserve University. 1949.

Three different groups, including Negro and white teen-agers, were studied. A YWCA group, a club in a senior high school and a club in a junior high school were observed and their activities reported. Of particular interest to the author was the understanding of each individual member of the group and she states that "it is necessary to understand individual group and community problems before progress is possible in an interracial program. Joint experiences are most valuable when they involve a sharing of common interests and an expression of common needs, rather than a self-conscious effort to bring people together as an interracial group."

9) Sol W. Ginsburg: Mental Health and Social Issues of Our Times. April, 1950 issue of The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry reports on an address made by the author.

He attempts to deal with the problems of the impact on people of the social reality in which they live and the necessary concomitant in helping people to social action. He sees the most important task of the mental hygiene movement, the problems of the relationships between the various races and nationalities which, he says, "may in the end be the problems of war." He emphasizes the importance of the interdisciplinary approach to these problems so that workers in all the sciences can contribute to the solutions.

10) Henry E. Kagan: Changing the Attitude of Christian Toward Jew. Central Conference of American Rabbis, Joshua Loth Liebman, Department of Human Relations Hebrew Union College. 1950.

This an approach through religion in reducing anti-Semitism. Four hundred and seventy-seven Protestants, affiliated with two denominations, were tested for their attitudes towards Jews. The average age of the participants was 17. The first tests showed that 27% were anti-Jewish, 26% pro-Jewish, and 47% expressed no feeling one way or the other. Two methods of teaching were used. One involved the emphasis on the common religious ideals of Jew and Christian and the Jewish foundations of Christianity. The second method involved direct group discussion on anti-Jewish attitudes.

The first method led to no reduction in anti-Jewish prejudice. The second method of guided discussion groups brought about a reduction in prejudice, which was shown to be maintained eight months later. The findings led to the following general conclusion:

> The policy of singling out an intergroup tension for explicit attention is supported.
>
> Individuals of a group will offer less resistance to attitude change if free verbal expression of their repressed hostility to the out-group is permitted.

5) Dorothy S. Laird and Carroll F. Cumbee: An Experiment in Modifying Ethnic Attitudes of College Students.
Reported in Journal of Educational Sociology. March, 1952.

The purpose of this study was first to estimate the degree of prejudice and intolerance existing among a group of college students toward certain minority groups. Then it attempted to formulate plans to modify any existing intolerances and to evaluate the procedures in terms of modification of attitudes. One hundred and twenty-nine students took part in the study. Attitudes relating to Jews, Negroes, and the foreign-born were measured at the beginning of the study. An "indirect" approach was used in the program, and the students were provided with the following experiences: personal contact through committee work and informal surveys, vicarious experiences through reading of human relations literature, movies, discussion groups and oral reports; and direct experiences through visitation and guest speakers. Students' attitudes were measured at the end of the study. The results showed that the procedures carried out contributed to the modification of the attitudes. While the indirect approach provided valuable experience, direct experiences appear to be the most conducive to attitude modification. When the experiences comprise only limited reading and listening to reports, a significant modification of attitudes is less likely to take place. Consequently, "programs designed to effect a change in attitudes should provide for many direct experiences, active participation in intergroup activities, and visual aids in addition to extensive reading of pertinent literature."

VI. DELINQUENCY, GANGS, AND ANTI-MINORITY VIOLENCE

Research into the causes of juvenile delinquency has given rise to several interesting considerations on the relationship between delinquency and anti-minority violence. There is, on the one hand, the belief that active violence against specific minority groups should be dealt with in the context of inter-group conflict. On the other hand, there is the growing belief that such violence is more closely related to juvenile delinquency generally and to the factors which cause an individual young person to commit delinquent acts.

In the Boston area, there have been repeated unpleasant outbreaks over the past few years. In these incidents young people were involved in serious and violent gang fights. In probing the factors around these outbursts, the Police Commissioner assessed the wave of assaults as part of the general city-wide problem of vandalism and hoodlumism. On the other hand, other groups felt that these were the result of an organized bigotry. In the November, 1950 issue of Facts, published by the ADL, a report on this area states:

> "Boston - a citadel of democratic traditions - has previously experienced outbreaks of anti-Semitic incidents, but the concentration of so many occurrences in such a periodically brief span of time has not been equalled in recent years.
>
> "As far as the overt manifestations of anti-Semitism are concerned, preliminary surveys indicate that most of these outrages have their origins in a Christian front mentality which still exists in certain elements in Boston."

The report goes on to state that deep-seated anti-Semitic attitudes still prevail among a large number of the city's under-privileged. Boston was one of the chief ports of debarkation for Jewish DP's, many of whom settled permanently in nearby mill towns. Some low income families feared economic competition from these new residents. The report states further that "economic insecurity and slum housing conditions have created a climate of tensions in which the Jews are scapegoated."

Research in the fields of psychology and sociology has attempted to spell out the nature and progression of changes which occur during adolescence and to analyze the social role that the adolescent plays in our society. There has been considerable emphasis on the study of this age group in connection with the study of delinquency, because it is the adolescent who is frequently involved in gang warfare. The literature on the teen-ager and the experiences which parents and teachers have with adolescents have given the general impression that this is a period when the young person has interests and ideas which conflict with the values of the adult society around him. The adolescent is called "rebellious" and "irresponsible." On the other hand, youth-serving agencies will frequently describe their own teen-age members as being concerned with world affairs and civic responsibility.

To generalize from the material we have reviewed, one consensus appears: A most influential factor in shaping the ideas of adolescents is that of their friends and close associates - gangs, clubs and cliques. The largest

proportion of writers accept the fact that it is normal for adolescents and pre-adolescents to join groups. Dr. Fritz Redl, a psychiatrist who has studied the dynamics of group association among youth, has stated that young people have a deep need to form cliques and gangs among themselves. Thrasher, who for many years studied gang membership, comes to the conclusion that delinquent gang membership arises from a complex involving inadequate family life, poor neighborhoods, poverty, inadequate education and recreation, and insufficient religious guidance. He believes that the gang arises to fill the needs which are unmet by society. In a newly published book (1952) Delinquents in the Making, by Sheldon and Eleanore Glueck, the authors report on a study in which 500 persistently delinquent boys were matched with 500 truly non-delinquent boys, matching them boy for boy by age, ethnic and racial derivation, general intelligence, and residence in under-privileged urban neighborhoods. The authors analyze the factors contributing to the development of delinquent characteristics: The family, the school, the street, health, and the emotional components of character.

They report that a larger proportion of delinquent youngsters join gangs although they indicate that these boys were delinquent before joining such groups. Gang membership may merely multiply their anti-social activities. "It rarely originated persistent delinquency," they write.

The key to the development of a delinquent youngster may help in analyzing the situations where young people become involved in racial conflicts and in other community crises involving group antagonisms. In their introduction to the study, the Gluecks write:

> "The analysis of the causes of juvenile delinquency is important not merely in itself and because of the immediate and more obvious trouble it gives society, but also because of the more general threat it represents, for the majority of adult criminals began their anti-social careers as child delinquents. Moreover, apart from the obvious harm to adult society by adult criminals, there is the more distant but real danger implicit in the fact that some of the more striking threats that mark delinquents are similar to the character trends of Nazi, Fascist or Communist leaders."

The Gluecks analyze some of the psychological factors in the personality of delinquents. They state that delinquent youngsters "as a group, function on a less efficient level and they are less stable emotionally. At the same time, they are more dynamic and energetic; more agressive, adventurous, suggestible and stubborn." A higher proportion of delinquents than non-delinquents display emotional stress from relations with parents and other members of the family. Delinquents tend to resolve their inner struggles through acting out their difficulties; the non-delinquents through turning them inward.

Since in this study done by the Gluecks the social factors surrounding these delinquents were matched, there is little analysis of the effect, if any, of these factors on the development of delinquent trends in the individual. However, the Gluecks characterize the environmental factors as pressures on a growing boy in this way:

> "The demands made upon the growing boy in every vehicle of today's culture are numerous, involved, often subtle, and not infrequently inconsistent. This is true of the home, the school, the neighborhood and the general all-pervasive culture of the times. The child is told that he must be honest, non-aggressive, self-controlled; but on every hand he runs into vivid contradictory attitudes, values and behavior in an environment that, in large measure, rewards selfishness, aggression and predatory attitude and success by any means."

The Gluecks conclude that the basic desires of the growing child, regardless of temperament, are similar and imperative, especially as he emerges into adolescence. An imperative desire is a feeling of security and affection from parents and friends, a striving for happiness and eagerness to be free from restraint, and hunger for new experience and for the satisfaction of curiosity. In this connection it might be interesting to note that the authors comment that delinquent youngsters express a marked dislike for controlled recreation programs and supervised leisure. Also, as a group, although they are less conscientious about religious obligations, only a small portion neglected their religious duties completely.

As a supplementary note on the analysis of the factors contributing to delinquency, an article written by Dr. Howard D. Rusk, appearing in the New York Times on July 12, 1953, is of interest. He writes:

> "The primary cause of delinquency . . . is 'faulty homes' rather than 'faulty bodies.' Sociologists such as Clifford Shaw and educators such as Allison Davis have outlined the factors that cause such a high percentage of our juvenile delinquents to come from disadvantageous or slum areas of the city. It is difficult, they point out, to have a single standard of right and wrong in a community when people of one race or of one economic level are segregated into a particular section of the city. The youngster on the 'right side' of town usually adopts the conventional behavior of his family, but the child on the 'wrong side of town,' where the fighting for survival and recognition is bitter, may broaden his fight against his close environment into a battle against society in general."

In 1942 Clifford R. Shaw, a long-time student in the field of juvenile delinquency, and Henry B. McKay, in a book which they edited titled Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, published by the University of Chicago Press, wrote on the comparative influence of nationality and ethnic background and those elements in the community which are factors in juvenile delinquency. They state as follows (Page 156):

> "It appears to be established . . . that diverse racial, nativity and national groups possess relatively similar rates of delinquents in similar social areas; and that each of these groups displays the effect of disproportionate concentration in its respective areas at a given time. In the face of these facts it is difficult to sustain the contention that, by themselves, the factors of race, nativity and nationality are vitally related to the problem of juvenile delinquency. It seems necessary to conclude, rather, that the

Significantly higher rates of delinquents found among the children of Negroes, the foreign born and more recent immigrants are closely related to existing differences in their respective patterns of geographic distribution within the city."

In the October, 1949 (Vol. XIV, No. 5) issue of The American Sociological Review, Professor Christen T. Jonassen, of the Department of Sociology of Ohio State University, writes a critique of some of the methods of Shaw, mentioned above. He points out in the process of his analysis that factors influencing the rates of delinquency may be divided into two broad groups:

1) Those factors which influence the rate but which may not directly influence delinquent behavior. Under this group he points up differences in the law as to what constitutes delinquent behavior; differences in police policy of enforcement; differences in court procedures; differences in liabilities of different groups to arrest at different times (this may explain the arrest of large numbers of minority youths during certain periods).

2) Those factors directly affecting delinquent behavior. In this group are included the general economic and social forces of the times; conditions in local areas at different times; the socio-economic status of the delinquent's environment; cultural orientation of the area, etc.

In 1950 the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles sponsored a study designed to throw some light on the environmental factors responsible for repeated anti-social juvenile behavior in an urban area with residents from diverse cultural backgrounds. The study was conducted by Ernest Greenwood and is called Echo Park: A Pilot Study of a Social Area in Los Angeles. The area was studied to get facts on the population composition, the occupational groups, educational level, the housing situation, the social services available and other factors. In interviews an effort was made to get at cultural facts such as intergroup tensions, the social structure of the community, the values demonstrated by the young people of the area, the gang phenomena. In general the findings of this study point up:

1) The socially disorganizing effects of large city life on the family and other social groups.

2) The disturbances to emotional stability among "marginal" groups.

3) The confusions and upsets caused by the contradictions in our culture.

4) The class stratification of city life and the resulting cleavages among groups.

5) The hostility caused by restrictive pressures.

Several other studies may be of interest in this connection. In 1946 Sophia M. Robison, Nathan E. Cohen and Murray Sachs wrote in the Journal of Educational Sociology on Autonomous Groups: An Unsolved Problem in Group Loyalties and

Conflicts. Ethnic factors may enter into group conflicts in which destructive adolescent gangs have a strong loyalty to the "in-group" and a strong agressiveness toward "out-groups." It is the feeling of the authors that this problem of destructive gangs cannot be met by organized recreation. It is their contention that all sectors of the community must be organized in an effort to solve these problems.

In the Spring, 1948 issue of The Journal of Negro Education, Dr. A. A. Abraham reports on a study which began in 1934 and has continued over the years. It is called Juvenile Delinquency in Buffalo and Its Prevention. In this study 72 population areas in Buffalo were ranked in accordance with certain factors: juvenile delinquency, arrests of juveniles 16-20 years of age, deaths from tuberculosis, infant mortality, out-of-wedlock births. In the study it was found that an area which encompassed 10 of these population segments was the highest point for the highest average occurence of all the factors studied. One particular population segment was found to be the center of the slum area which correspondingly had the highest rates of incidence of all of these factors. It points up, too, that among the Negroes in this area the average yearly arrest rates per 1,000 population have been more than twice that of any other group. As an explanation the author points out that the Negro population has increased 2⅔ times since 1930 but that the area in which they live has remained the same. The conclusion here is inescapable: that delinquency and all other factors connected with high death rates, illness and other such conditions are directly related to the economic situation of the area.

Between April, 1943 and March, 1946 a study, Juvenile Delinquency Among Puerto Ricans, was conducted by Erwin Schepses, based on records and statistical material of the New York State Training School for Boys. This was an attempt to evaluate part of the adjustment problem of Puerto Ricans in New York City. Juvenile delinquency was seen as one of the gauges by which this adjustment may be measured. Puerto Rican delinquent boys were studied in relation to non-Puerto Rican delinquent boys. Their families and economic backgrounds were evaluated. Their health and types of delinquent activities in which they engaged were studied. The boys were given psychological tests. In conclusion the author points out that the proportion of Puerto Rican delinquent boys to the total number of Puerto Rican boys in the community appears to be higher than the delinquency rate of other ethnic groups. However, Puerto Rican delinquency on the whole seems to be of a milder type and fewer of the Puerto Rican boys engage in the more serious crimes.

In the June, 1948 issue of the American Catholic Sociological Review a report appears on the study of Negro gangs in West Philadelphia. The author, John J. Kane, calls the study Tops and Bottoms: The Study of Negro Gangs in West Philadelphia. An effort was made to trace the origin of some of the Negro boy gangs which were committing delinquent acts in this area. The author states that the origin of these gangs can be traced back to early boyhood, when being together provided the first opportunities for social contact. Leadership of the gang was based on "smartness" and not on physical strength. The author comments that delinquency in the area seems to exist in proportion to the amount of social disorganization existing. Institutions such as schools, settlement houses, etc., were in a state of flux because of the increasing Negro population in the area. The author writes in conclusion: "The lack of

recreation facilities and discrimination towards Negroes on the part of such agencies as existed encouraged the boys to form gangs."

Professor Jonassen of Ohio State University undertook to study the ethnic origin as a factor in juvenile delinquency. This was an attempt to ascertain the influence of nationality on juvenile delinquency in certain sections of Brooklyn, New York by holding all factors except that of ethnic background constant. Dr. Jonassen wrote us in reply to our inquiry that, after a considerable amount of work, it was apparent that the conclusions could not be considered definitive and that he considered it best not to publish the study. He pointed up many problems involved in determining the influence of ethnic factors on juvenile delinquency which he feels are difficult to overcome in developing an effective study and which have been ignored by other workers in the field.

Two current studies not yet completed may have some interesting facts to disclose. Both of them were conducted by Dr. Melvin J. Williams of Stetson College, Florida. One of them deals with the role of gangs and crowds in the adjustment patterns of high school youths and their bearing upon group work activities and programs. Questionnaires were given to 1,500 students in three representative communities in Michigan and Georgia. Group discussions were held with 100 boys and girls and extensive interviews with 60. On the basis of the findings conclusions are being drawn as to the ways in which group activities and programs might be developed to meet the social needs of boys and girls which are now being variously met by unorganized group activities and frequently by destructive groups.

Another study done in the same areas with 1,500 high school youths is an attempt to analyze the sources of disagreement between gangs and within gangs, the evidences of gang conflict and the causal factors operating in such situations.

We have been in correspondence with Dr. Williams on these studies and he has written that his statistical material is completed but that until his findings are more carefully analyzed he is unwilling to circulate the study. (However, when it is finally completed it will be made available to us.)

It is relevant to take note of the sociological study to which earlier reference was made: Elmtown's Youth, by A. B. Hollingshead. The author concludes that every avenue open to the adolescent, every expression of behavior is conditioned by the social class into which he is born. He also points out that by and large the class nature of society is fixed and there is little possibility for an individual to move upward. His study clearly demonstrates that "for a complete cross-section of a relatively homogeneous age and sex group in one community in contemporary America, the home an adolescent comes from conditions in a very definite manner the way he behaves in his relations with the school, the church, the job, recreation, his peers and his family."

Open and violent clashes between young people of difference classes is not uncommon, writes Hollingshead. Delinquency rates are considerably higher among lower class children than those from the economically advantaged groups. A sharp line divides the high school youngster from the adolescent who has left school (children of the lower classes leave school earlier). Hollingshead points

out that the delinquency pattern prevalent among the lower economic class parent is taking shape among the children of this class in the group that has left school. Fifteen per cent had come in contact with the law at least once; three boys out of eighteen and one girl out of twelve had been convicted twice. Stealing was the most frequent offense among the boys and sex violence among the girls. Hollingshead points out that there is far more delinquency in both the high school group and the group that has withdrawn from school than officia records indicate. He states that young people violate the mores, if not the law, almost constantly but that they actually seldom think about this until they find themselves in trouble. When they do, the differences which adults attach to the role played by out-of-school adolescents in comparison with high school students becomes clear. The police assume that parents are to blame when a student is apprehended for violation of the law. However, when an out-of-school adolescent is apprehended the same officials hold him responsible. In other words, this too becomes a class matter.

Anti-Minority Delinquency

There are relatively few studies which deal with anti-minority delinquency. in 1943 Bogardus studied Mexican-American gangs in Los Angeles and attributed their formation to a sense of difference because of language difficulties, problems at school, race discrimination, low economic status and cultural contrasts in family life. These gangs frequently clashed with gangs of other nationality groups. In 1946 Sophia Robison, Nathan Cohen and Murray Sachs reported that gang warfare must be attributed to aggressive tendencies arising from homes where children fear their parents but where very little family life existed. Dale Harris in 1948 stated that delinquent gangs arose in areas which were undergoing population shifts with resulting group clashes.

In a volume edited by William H. Kilpatrick and William Van Til, Intercultural Attitudes in the Making, one chapter is devoted to gangs. The authors of the chapter are Charles E. Hendry and Russell Hogrefe. The authors state:

> "Studies in the nature and cause of prejudice and intergroup conflict have indicated that individual and group feelings of insecurity often underlie the clashes and tensions between groups. It is not surprising, therefore, that the gang built to provide security for the insecure should be an important factor in many situations of intergroup conflict."

The authors report, after studying a particular anti-social gang, that the underlying pattern appears to be one of frustration and disorientation resulting from lack of goals for young people. These are compensated for by aggressive attitudes and by a sensitivity to their status. The authors hold that the need to achieve a reputation, even a bad one, the need to distinguish himself and his group from others, are motivations in the direction of gang identification. The authors then state:

> "Anti-minority activities may be only a small part of his over-all personality, which includes resistance to control, assertion of superiority, emphasis on others' inferiority, sensitivity to others' differences, sensitivity to real and imagined insults, readiness to resort to physical agression."

Fighting becomes the most obvious method that a young, insecure gang member can use to establish his superiority. In the context of these factors then, any identifiable minority may "become a focus of resentment simply because it is identifiable as different. Such groups may have been established as inferior through . . . their treatment by society; they simply become the more obvious targets, people to be 'kept in their place.'"

The Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress attempted to study the nature of anti-Semitic delinquency through a series of action-research projects. In a paper prepared by Russell Hogrefe, who directed the majority of these projects, dated April, 1951, he outlines a series of possibilities facing the Jewish community in meeting the periodic outbreaks of teen-age vandalism and assault. He stresses that the first and perhaps the most difficult thing for the Jewish community to grasp, is that these incidents must be primarily understood as delinquent activity and only secondarily as anti-Semitic in content. He proposes the necessity for an adequate diagnosis of the motivation in any given incident as basic to an intelligent decision on how the offender or offenders should be dealt with. He feels that there is considerable evidence to indicate that it is practical in many cases to return offenders to the community rather than institutionize them. He feels that there is more to be gained by helping the offender to resolve his personal problems and to cope with some of the environmental pressures so that he can become a constructive and useful citizen if he is exposed to sympathetic understanding and trained people. He concludes generally:

> "The central theme of all these recommendations is that successful handling of any incident of anti-Semitic delinquency demands investigation of the specific factors contributing to such acts in that particular situation . . . a program of treatment based on careful consideration of the potential value of various courses of action in overcoming these factors. General steps to improve intergroup relations, such as establishment of Mayors' Committees on Unity, or passage of anti-discrimination legislation, while valuable for other reasons, are not likely to touch directly the source of delinquent behavior . . . . The most constructive approach is to seek out the specific motivations and other contributing causes for the particular aggressive act and to attempt to help the offender to work out these problems and become a useful member of the community . . . . Such work in the community has the additional advantage of reaching potential delinquents who have not yet gotten into serious trouble with the law and thus of helping to prevent future anti-Semitic delinquent behavior."

In another study done under CCI auspices by Milton L. Blum, titled A Study of Intergroup Relations in a Metropolitan Community, with particular attention to the behavior of delinquent boys, an effort was made to study the situation created by a series of street fights between Italian boys, on the one hand, and Jewish and Negro boys, on the other. The community was 90% Jewish, 7% Italian and 2% Negro. Information was secured on the characteristics of the population of the community, on the attitudes of the major ethnic groups, on the ideas of community leaders as to the needs of the community, and on formally and informally organized youth groups. The town in this study is called, for purposes of anonymity, "Seaside." After months of observation it was concluded that the

street fights in this community were not expressions of ethnic prejudice primarily but were related to various dissatisfactions in the community. It was held to be significant that 52% of the Jews wanted to move away, as did 41% of the Italians and 33% of the Negroes. Sources of dissatisfaction with the community were the lack of recreational facilities, difficulty in transportation to employment and inadquate housing. The maladjustment between adult and youth which led to the formation of gangs had a bearing on the street fighting. It was found that in the three ethnic groups prejudice towards the other groups increased as their dissatisfaction with the community increased. People in all three minorities felt that they were limited because of their group membership.

Another effort to study the story of an anti-minority gang is told in a progress report entitled Club Revelation, an Experiment with Delinquent Boys. This was conducted by Russell Hogrefe and Dr. John Harding. This community is called "Westview" and is a section of a large Eastern city in which a serious fight occurred between Jewish and non-Jewish boys. Almost 100 people were involved and the police were called in. Westview was studied, with special attention given to the problems and activities of Italian boys living in a crowded area at the edge of the community. The study eventually narrowed down to one group in particular, which had taken an active part in a series of fights in the neighborhood. This was a gang of about 20 boys ranging in age from 16 to 20 and generally considered to be the toughest gang of boys in Westview. Many of them had delinquency records.

The method used in this study was one first developed by Clifford Shaw and is based on several assumptions: 1) Destructive activities in which delinquent boys engage serve as a reaction to frustration and means of overcoming the inadequacy of their environment and means of gaining prestige. 2) Constructive activities can satisfy the prestige needs if given recognition by adults and other youth groups in the community. 3) Responsibility and maturity of judgment can be developed in a group of such boys through collective decisions on matters of importance to the entire group. This report outlines in detail the process through which the group leader took this gang of delinquent boys. It points up the kind of fights the gang engaged in at the beginning of this study. In each of the fights described there is an anti-minority element. As the worker progressed with the group the desires of the boys for fights declined and their prestige appeared to have been enhanced. After one year of intensive work with the group the report indicates:

> "There is no evidence as yet of any change in the attitude of the boys towards Negroes and Jews - but their behavior towards these groups has improved as a result of the present disinclination toward fighting. The boys' desire to please responsible adults in the community does not in itself affect their attitude towards Jews and Negroes because most of the adults to whom they look for recognition are also prejudiced against these groups."

However, the report states:

> ". . . that the increased number of contacts of Negroes and Jews may result in a reduction of prejudice in the future. . . . Close study of changes in behavior of Club Revelation members since 1945

indicates that these changes have been in response primarily to a new situation in which the boys found themselves. Their current tendency towards socially acceptable behavior is heavily dependent on the guiding influence of the group worker. . . . The final test of the effectiveness of the approach will come in the extent to which socially acceptable behavior persists in the days to come, when the only outside assistance available for Club Revelation will be that which educational and public welfare agencies of city and state are willing to provide."

The New York City Youth Board, established in 1947, had as its primary purpose the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency. One of its major problems has been that of handling teen-age gangs throughout the city. The Youth Board recognized, at the beginning of its work, that the associations of youngsters 13-18 years of age in clubs, gangs, cliques, etc., was common among teen-agers at all economic levels, in all cultural settings, and in all localities. In a report called Redirecting Teen-Age Gangs, by James E. McCarthy, Director of Recreation and Group Work of the New York City Youth Board, which is included in a report of the work of the Youth Board, Reaching the Unreached, the point is made that during the past decade many teen-age groups in large urban areas, particularly New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland and Detroit, have developed a rivalry and a form of isolation in such an intense, hostile manner that violent gang warfare, involving the use of lethal weapons and resulting in injury and death, have not been uncommon. The principles on which the Youth Board developed its work on teen-age gangs were:

1) Participation in a gang or club is part of the growing up process of adolescence. Such a group has the potentialities for positive growth and development.

2) Some gangs, "as a result of more fundamental factors such as family disorganization, economic insecurity, racial and religious discrimination, poor housing, lack of recreational and educational facilities, emotional maladjustment, have developed patterns of anti-social behavior . . . which, over the past decade, has produced an annual toll of innumerable injuries and several deaths."

3) Repressive measures, although sometimes necessary for the protection of the community, do not bring about basic changes in attitudes or behavior.

4) Gang members can be reached and will respond to sympathetic understanding on the part of adults.

In working with the gangs one of the goals is the development of friendly relationships with other gangs and individuals, and improved community relations. The New York City Youth Board accepts the realistic point of view that professional workers cannot directly modify those factors as cause delinquent anti-social behavior such as broken homes, discrimination and economic insecurity. What they attempt to do is to concentrate on the potentialities of the individual young people to help them build more creative and fuller outlets which can be channeled into socially acceptable behavior.

The New York City Youth Board has found that where professional workers have gone into an area, over a considerable period of time this particular area shows a smaller delinquency rate increase than in a comparable area where no such work is being done.

The problem of gang fights is widespread, with newspapers reporting teen-age gang wars and racial tension. In May, 1953 the city of Newark organized a conference to discuss the problems of mounting racial tension among teen-agers under the auspices of the Mayor's Commission on Group Relations. In a newspaper report of the Newark Star Ledger of May 28, 1953 it is reported that Dr. Herman Long, national consultant of Community Self-Surveys (a private survey organization) and a professor at Fiske University, said that the basic problems of recreation, housing and segregation must be solved by the City Commission before racial tension will be eased. In the Newark Evening News of the same date it is reported that James E. McCarthy of the New York City Youth Board, talked at a panel discussion held by the Citizens Advisory Committee on Tension Control. McCarthy is quoted as having said, in reference to the work in New York City: "We found that the essential conflict was between members of the same racial and religious group and that intergroup tension was not a significant factor in street fighting." In the Newark Evening News of May 12, 1953 a report on a student panel discussing teen-age gang fights in Newark was held. Nearly all the panelists declared that neither racial nor religious prejudice was a primary cause of gang fights, although either might become an issue once the fight got started.

It is interesting to note the dramatic news value of this kind of gang fighting. The September, 1953 issue of True Story magazine has in it a full-length story called High School Hate Club. It tells in fiction form the story of a small town where a new defense plant attracted many families of foreign extraction. The youngsters of the old established families resented the encroachment by the children of the newcomers. They organized a Junior Gestapo and conducted a series of acts against the newcomers. These acts, in the traditional fashion of True Story magazine, include bombing, rape and arson. The Gestapo was finally broken up when one of the members is horrified by what has happened and finally goes to the authorities. What is interesting in this kind of a story, aside from an attempt to excite the teen-age reader, is some of the insight into the situation which the author displays. In the course of the story he writes:

> "Secret societies were forbidden in our high school, of course. We were not even allowed to have sororities and fraternities, just stuffy groups like the French Club and the Biology Club. That was what made it so exciting, knowing that we were on the inside, we were extra-special, we were important. That was why other kids clamored to be allowed to join, so they could feel important too. And that's the reason for a lot of teen-age wrongdoing and destructiveness. Kids want to prove to themselves and their friends how strong and superior they are. Grownups forget that they once felt insecure too and ready to do almost anything to be somebody. The kids who joined the Junior Gestapo felt behind them the strength of the whole group and so they were not afraid to push the outsiders around. They dared to do, as a group, what they never have tried as individuals."

Later in the story the girl supposedly telling the story, who thinks about what had happened, says:

> "For what? For nothing more important than our own small selfishness. We have been jealous, resentful, because a lot of foreigners had come to town and had made good despite our hostility. Our parents had disliked their 'pushy' ways, had looked down on them. . .. We'd taken on that attitude and made it worse."

Whether a story like this helps the cause of improving group relations remains to be seen.

Incidents of Mob Violence and Assaults

A report issued jointly by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Jewish Congress, called Civil Rights in the United States - 1952: A Balance Sheet of Group Relations, states that although no deaths from lynching were reported during 1952, the use of bombings and other acts of violence may be said to have come into increased use as a direct result of the suppression of lynching. The report continues: "A particularly disturbing development was the discovery of a number of teen-age groups organized on frankly Fascist lines."

Some of the incidents reported are as follows:

1) During 1951 violent outbreaks against Jewish youths and other Jewish members of the community were created by a gang of teen-age youngsters in the Roxbury-Dorchester area. Religious tensions continued in this area during 1952 but there were fewer anti-Semitic incidents than in previous years. A Citizens Committee which has been working to develop a long-range program has urged a training program for the Boston police.

2) In the Jamaica Plains section of Boston an eight-foot cross was burned on the lawn of a building acquired by the New England Sinai Hospital. A fire department official attributed the burning to youthful "pranksters." However, a hospital official pointed out that there were indications that the cross was brought to the grounds in a truck driven by grown men.

3) Three Philadelphia youths were sentenced to indeterminate terms in the State Industrial School for their part in a "Hitler Youth Movement" launched at one of the Philadelphia high schools. They had admitted bombing a synagogue and a movie theatre. Eighteen other members of the group were placed on probation and another was sent to a school for incorrigibles. There is evidence that as many as 150 pupils might have joined in the goose-step marching and Nazi-saluting which had been the practice of this group. Some of these youths said that they planned to attack Catholic churches after they had finished their vandalism on the synagogues.

4) In New Orleans a club formed by 9 teen-agers, called "The Nazi Storm Trooper Club," was broken up when the police seized a considerable amount of ammunition and knives. Members admitted injuring 2 Negroes severely. The Nazi swastika was the emblem of this group. There was indication that this group might have been organized by adults.

5) In Chicago 4 teen-age boys were arrested after a series of attacks on Negroes had resulted in death to one Negro and injury to two others. One of the boys had recently been in a fight and the gang had planned to avenge the incident by beating up any Negroes they might meet.

6) In Milledgeville, Georgia, 6 teen-age terrorists were indicted by a grand jury for molesting members of the Negro community. The youths, who were armed, had masqueraded in stolen Klan costumes.

7) In Milwaukee, Wisconsin 4 boys, 14-17 years old, were arrested after they had attacked the home of a Negro family and burned a cross on the lawn.

8) In Milwaukee, Wiscorsin a gang of 18 high school boys, calling themselves "American Action Army," were arrested for distribution of anonymous anti-Semitic literature. Milwaukee officials believe that adults are behind the gang.

9) In Washington, D.C., at the Rosedale playground, several fracases occurred when Negroes, joined by sympathetic white persons, attempted to assert their right to use the playground, and both Negroes and whites were arrested. Subsequently the charges were dropped.

10) In New York City a YMCA in the Bedford section of Brooklyn, which is largely a Negro area, was picketed every weekend for a full year before the agency agreed to admit Negroes to its gymnasium and swimming pool.

11) In Pittsburgh 3 Negroes were stoned and threatened when they attempted to use a city-operated pool. Police said that they had not prepared additional protection because they understood that the pool, which had been unofficially closed to Negroes for two years, would not be used by them until local tensions had eased.

There is no way of knowing the number of smaller incidents of this kind of violence which never get reported in print. Discussions with local workers in settlement houses, community centers, and in after-school playground programs reveal that they are familiar with such outbreaks and are trying to work with the groups involved, where it is possible to reach them.

VII - SUMMARY

We have reviewed a great deal of material - in scientific studies, professional journals, books, magazines and newspapers - in an effort to ascertain what the youth of America is thinking today, what their attitudes are, and how they act out their feelings. We found much which is informative and thought-provoking, in spite of these inadequacies in the material: a) the wide age range; b) the gaps in research material on certain groups and in certain areas; c) the long period of time covered by this survey, and the quick-changing social scene which may rapidly alter the position and attitudes of youth. With these limitations in mind, we will attempt to summarize our findings. Detailed information explaining each of these statements will be found in the body of the study.

1) Some of the material demonstrates the importance of the home in establishing attitudes. A considerable number of studies are concerned with child-rearing, emotional disorders in children, and early childhood generally.

2) It would appear that while intergroup attitudes may be formed in early childhood, attitudes are not yet finally structured and that even during adolescence they are still flexible. (There are studies that indicate that attitudes may be changed in later years as well.)

3) There is some evidence that in early and later childhood, where favorable contact with members of minorities has been established, there is less prejudice in later life. Attitudes towards minorities are socially anchored and vary with the social situation. The particular kinds of contact situations which lead to improved relations are still being studied by social scientists.

4) There is a strong negative feeling towards Negroes in the North as well as in the South - but the content and nature of the relationship between whites and Negroes are different in these regions. Today there is a growing acceptance of equality of opportunity and civil rights. The relationship between young Negroes and whites, although somewhat better than in the past, is still fairly rigid.

5) Negro youth are dissatisfied with their situation and many studies indicate their growing desire for a fuller participation and acceptance in total American life.

6) Evidence indicates some improvement in attitude towards Jews. There is still, however, widespread anti-Jewish feeling among American youth. It may be that young people do not act out this feeling. However, they verbalize it - directly or indirectly - in testing situations. They are less likely to express it in more formally structured situations such as institutional settings and organized programs designed to improve relations.

7) There is some evidence, though meager, that the Jewish teen-ager is eager for greater acceptance and added opportunities for participation in total community life.

8) Young people are conscious of, and act in the context of a social and economic class system. This awareness is reflected in their intergroup attitudes.

9) American youth does not appear to be identifying or associating with liberal causes. The polls and surveys indicate, however, that young people are more liberal than their elders in their views on specific social questions such as civil liberties and race relations. The most liberal expressions on racial and intergroup questions come from college students. Young people from middle class and higher socio-economic levels express more liberal views than those from lower socio-economic groups. Also, from the limited material available, rural youth appear to be more prejudiced and express less liberal views on social issues than urban youth.

10) There appears to be a general feeling of apathy about larger social issues such as the conflict between the Communist world and the Western democracies, and about international affairs generally. A causal factor frequently noted in studies is the feeling of frustration on the part of young people who express the fact that they are unable to do anything about these affairs. Some observers note that where concern is evidenced, young people appear fairly cautious. The most active expression about social problems is found in agency settings - although agencies themselves decry a lack of interest in such matters by the larger part of their constituency.

11) The majority of young people are against war as an instrumentality for solving world problems. They express distaste for military service, but their opposition to war and service in the armed forces seems more a personal feeling than an awareness of social implications. In no way is there an organized anti-war sentiment among young people such as existed in the 1930's.

12) There is general agreement that juvenile delinquency is increasing at an alarming rate. Overwhelmingly the material reviewed sees violent acts directed against minority groups as delinquent behavior. It is rarely, if ever, an expression of ideological hostility to minority groups as such.

Although there is evidence that young people have anti-minority feelings, there is no evidence that youthful anti-minority violence is part of an over-all national trend. Nor is there evidence to the effect that such violence, per se, is increasing.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AJC PROGRAM

This survey of materials has given us an opportunity to evaluate the direction of our own work with youth; to open up new directions if necessary; and to develop jointly, together with other sections of the agency, programs that can contribute to our total objectives.

In presenting these recommendations, no attempt is being made to designate areas of responsibility for various sections of the agency. To further some of the recommendations it might well be feasible to encourage groups outside of our agency to undertake action on these matters. Also, no consideration is being given, in this context, to budgetary needs.

To translate into action those recommendations that apply to local situations, consideration should be given to develop materials and practical suggestions which will help our chapter members relate their AJC experience to their participation in other organizations.

1) Since youth is the formative period during which social attitudes that take expression in adult life are fixed, it is important that the agency devote a great deal of attention to this segment of the population.

2) A greater concern and effort in the direction of parent education seems indicated. Nationally, this might involve more intensive work with groups devoted to parent education, such as the Child Study Association, and to the development by our agency of more materials dealing with the home and early childhood. Locally, AJC members should be encouraged to participate in parent groups and to develop relationships with bodies where they may participate as parents.

3) The agency should have greater concern for the structure and policies of all those agencies which serve youth - schools, leisure-time programs, both public and private, and other social institutions. Nationally, the agency must exert greater effort in supporting those institutions which are making an attempt to strengthen liberal ideas. Such support for liberal positions taken by agencies may encourage them to continued efforts.

4) Because of the apparent relationship between juvenile delinquency and anti-minority violence, it would seem particularly important for the AJC to be concerned with those social factors which contribute to the growth of delinquency. The continuing rise in the delinquency rate may at some time in the not too distant future have serious anti-minority repercussions. The social forces at work which influence the delinquent, if permitted to go unchecked, may stimulate the delinquent youth to act out his frustrations and needs and to turn against the minority group to a greater extent than at present. The social sanction given to anti-minority attitudes will serve as a ready pattern for such actions.

On the local scene AJC chapter members should be educated to understand what some of these factors are and the meaning they have in the long view for Jewish security. Social action on these factors would seem appropriate.

5) The evidence that young people from the lowest socio-economic groups are more prejudiced would indicate a need for AJC also to work more closely with those organizations which reach young people from this level. Both nationally and locally we should develop more intensive relationships with voluntary and government services working in behalf of young people of this group.

6) Our field staffs and members of our chapters should give thought to the ways in which the energies of young people might be used in tackling social issues which are relevant to their interests and of concern to us: civil liberties, intergroup relations discrimination in college admissions, and others. The involvement of young people may be in settings like youth councils, or they may be in activities carried on by chapters. Offering young people such opportunities for participation may also serve to overcome in some measure their apathy towards social concerns about which there has been so much comment.

7) There is indication that on intergroup and civil liberties issues the most liberal expressions come from college students. In view of the attempts of increasing strictures on freedom of speech in the colleges, it would seem important to strengthen and support all efforts being made to maintain academic freedom. Nationally and locally AJC should give thought to closer work with the administrations and staffs of colleges and universities and to work with student organizations and fraternities on these issues.

8) There are about one-quarter of a million students in fraternities and sororities operating on 125 college campuses. The discrimination and segregation practised by these groups has been widely commented on. To help eliminate these divisive forces on the campuses, AJC nationally and locally should work more closely with college administrations to help them assume responsibility to resolve the contradiction between the colleges' traditional democratic purposes and the discriminatory and divisive practises in fraternities operating on their campuses.

9) Educators throughout the country have condemned the appearance of fraternities and sororities on high school campuses. In many communities they have been outlawed, but in spite of this they continue to grow in many areas. Although little study has been conducted on these groups, it is generally known that the discriminatory practises in these fraternities are a serious social problem to teen-agers who are forced into segregated groups. Locally we must work with other groups to stop the growth of the fraternity movement on the high school level.

10) There would appear to be need for more intensive work with agricultural organizations. Groups such as the 4-H Clubs, the Future Farmers of America, the New Farmers of America, are difficult to reach. However, it might be possible, through the rural departments of the Y's, to get some closer contact with rural youth. Also, the extension program of the Department of Agriculture might offer opportunities for reaching not only youth and young adults, but older members of rural communities.

11) There is evidence of Jewish teen-age confusion and the need for research in this area has been noted earlier. It would appear that closer work with Jewish youth, particularly on the local level, should be intensified. Work with Jewish youth-serving institutions seems indicated and special consideration should be given to the community relations aspects of Jewish youth work.

12) There is need for further research and more careful analysis of some of the factors affecting the lives of young people. Some of those which seem indicated from the material reviewed are:

a) Study of the social scene and those social forces which affect attitude formation of young people.

b) There is indication that contact between various groups improves attitudes towards minorities. There is need for further research to establish more clearly which are the contact situations which are likely to lead to improved attitudes, and under what conditions such contact may be established.

c) There is need for more intensive research on the factors which may promote increased security for Jewish youth. Such an analysis should be concerned with the age level at which increasing defensiveness about Jewishness begins to appear; the situations in which Jewish youth might develop with greater security about their Jewishness; and increased ability to live fully on the American scene.

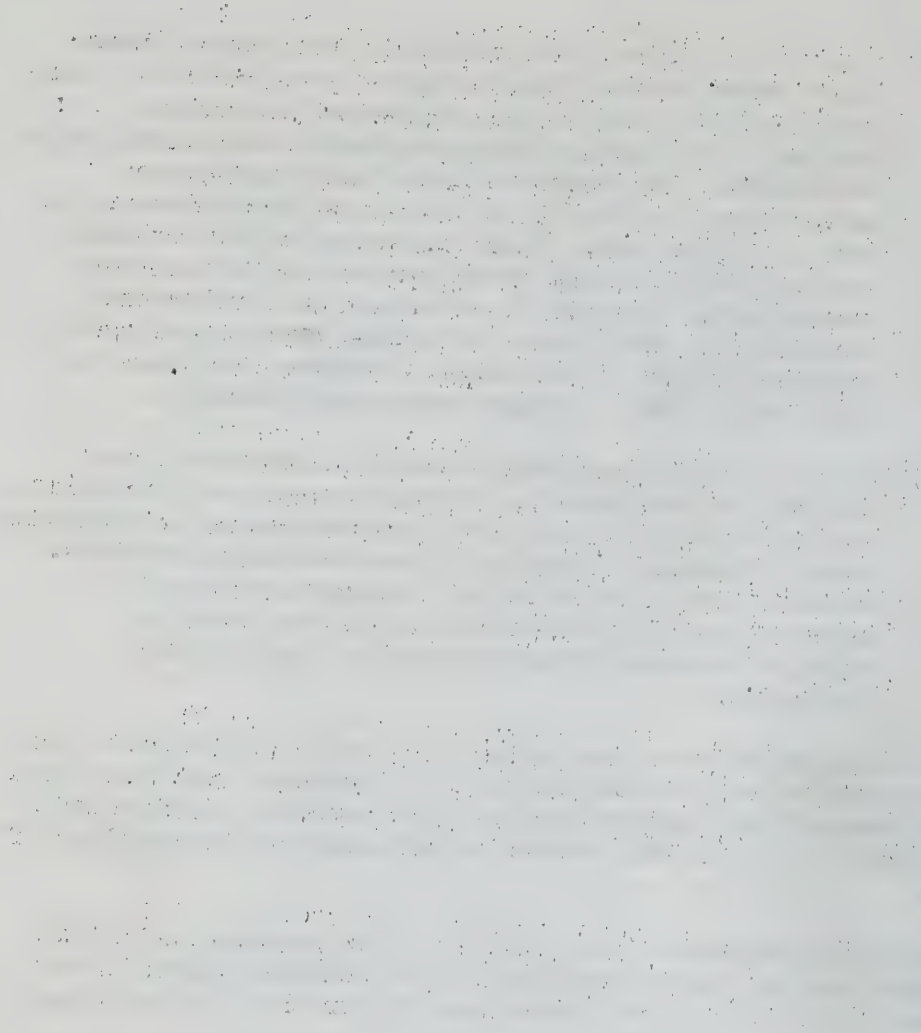
d) One of the large gaps in the research material reviewed appears at the school age level. Work among this age group (roughly, 7 to 12) seems to be concentrated largely in the area of school curriculum. We need to know more about attitudes at this age level and in what way negative attitudes might be changed, as well as the role that the school curriculum plays in this connection.

e) From other studies not covered in this report there is evidence to show that changes in attitude on intergroup relations may be associated with critical changes in the total life situation of the young adult: for example, the point at which the young person leaves home for the first time to go to college or to take his first job. There is evidence that at such turning points in the young person's life attitude change seems easier. There should be further exploration of the factors affecting such periods and the possibility of designing a program for these age levels which will further intergroup relations.

f) From the little evidence there is in material not covered in this report, it would appear that changes in intergroup attitude have improved where fraternities have officially eliminated discriminatory practises. Research into the effect of integration and of segregation in fraternities on the attitudes of college students towards minority groups seems indicated.

13) We would recommend that this material be made available to the field men at an early date and that a discussion with the field men on some of the implications of this material might be of great help in stimulating community thinking on the problems of youth.

14) We would also recommend that parts of this document be put in suitable form to make it available to a selected group in our chapters so that they may share some of our thinking on these matters.



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